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AUGUSTINE ON THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

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"In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

FEW passages of Scripture intrigued Augustine as much as the first sentence of the book of Genesis. In the Confessions, in his treatises on Genesis, in the City of God, and elsewhere he dwells on it and recurs to it, as though he felt he could not exhaust its suggestions and implications. His reflections on this sentence are ample evidence of the acuteness, force, and fecundity of his mind.

These reflections deserve attention not only as an index to the quality of his mind, but also because in his treatment of the subject the main strands of his cosmology are knotted together. Time and eternity, nature and human history, body and soul, good and evil, — all these themes are developed and interconnected in Augustine's thought about the creation of the world.

Two minor themes will appear as this study proceeds, namely (1) the role of Biblical revelation in Augustine's thought, and (2) the relation between Augustine the Neoplatonist and Augustine the Christian. These two topics are obviously connected, and our subject gives us a vantage point for getting some understanding of both. A brief preliminary word about each may be in order.

"In the beginning God created heaven and earth." Here, for Augustine, was a truth mediated by a particular historical tradition with which he had identified himself. This truth he was not at liberty to ignore. With it he had to come to terms. Its claim on his mind was not the claim of a dictum of pure reason unconditioned by historical experience. Nor was it the claim of a fact immediately presented in the course of his observation of the world. It was the claim of a historical revelation, with which he was confronted in the Bible.

We shall see that Augustine took this sentence from Genesis quite seriously. It was for him a truth, not a fiction. It will be evident also that he took it in no simple sense, certainly not with a childish simplicity.[1] Its truth did not have for Augustine the kind of simplicity which puts an end to all questions. It was a productive truth, which made it possible to answer questions in a new and more adequate way. It was thus not a substitute for thinking. Rather, it stimulated thought by marking out a new direction for exploration. It was a source of truths, which illumined and set in a new and clearer perspective both the problems and all speculative attempts at their solution. In this way, from Augustine's point of view, the result of his acceptance of the Biblical revelation was a liberation, not an inhibition of thought.

It is in this light that we should look at the relation between Neoplatonism and the Christian faith in Augustine's thought. The contrast between these two did pose a problem for him. As he saw it, the problem was not how to reconcile two systems by judicious selections from each, the selections being determined by a perspective more fundamental than either. His aim was neither synthetic nor eclectic. The problem was to understand his world anew from a perspective determined by the Christian faith. In particular, his task was to rethink the meanings of time and eternity, nature and history, body and soul, good and evil, in the light of the truth that God is the Creator.

There can be no doubt that the mind he brought to this task had been formed by Neoplatonic habits of thought; the experience he now had to reinterpret had been shaped by Neoplatonic ideals. One may indeed doubt whether he was completely successful in rethinking his world from the new perspective of Christian faith. There can be little doubt that this was what he was

[1] There is in the way the Scripture speaks, says Augustine, a loftiness which mocks at the pretensions of the intellectually arrogant, and a profundity which frightens away those who are mere pedants (*adtentos*). By its truth, however, it feeds mature minds, and by its gentleness it nourishes immature minds. de Genesi ad litteram V, 3.

References are to the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum unless otherwise noted. The translations in The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (First Series), except for the Confessions where Pusey's translation was used, have been compared with the text and in many cases revised. I am grateful to Mr. David Coffin, of Smith College, for his advice on translation, but any mistakes are my own.

trying to do. This was the pivotal movement of his mind as he reflected on the creation of the world.

How fruitful this adventure of ideas turned out to be the reader must judge. Some may feel that had Augustine possessed an "outline of modern knowledge" he would have been able to avoid some pitfalls. Some may wish he had kept to the low road of common sense and simple faith and had not at times taken the high road of speculation. Some may wish that in his speculation he had freed himself more from Neoplatonic ways of thinking. Some will read him through medieval spectacles. To judge him fairly, we should look at him as a man of the ancient world, traversing the intellectual terrain of that world, a terrain whose features shift subtly and profoundly as he comes to see them with new eyes.

1. *In the Beginning*

(a) Time and Eternity

The words, "in the beginning," Augustine takes in two ways: they have a figurative meaning and they have a literal meaning. Figuratively, the "beginning" (*principium*) is the divine Word, the uncreated Wisdom, the eternal Son in whom and by whom God made all things.[2] Literally, "the beginning" is the beginning of time. All things were made in the beginning of time. From this point of departure Augustine embarks on an exploration of the meaning of time and eternity, the results of which are profoundly original and suggestive.

Notice first, Augustine's thought runs, that creation is not in time. It is "in the beginning." In the beginning of what? Augustine would prefer to say simply, "in the beginning." One may say if one likes that the world was created in the beginning of time. For as in Plato's myth,[3] so for Augustine time comes into existence along with the world. "Without doubt the world was not made in time, but with time." [4] Creation does not fall within that series of successive events, each coming to be and ceasing to be, of which time is the measure. Creation is not an act in time. Creation is "in the beginning."

[2] Conf. XIII, v (6).
[3] Cf. Timaeus 38B.
[4] de civ. Dei XI, 6.

For time is a measure of change, a relation among changing things.

> Who does not see that time would not have existed had not some creature been made, which by some motion would bring about change, and that since the various parts of this motion and change cannot exist together (*simul*), when one passes away and another succeeds it in shorter or longer intervals of duration, time would be the result? [5]

Time is relative to changing things and exists where such things exist. Thus the original coming-into-being of the world of changing creatures "begins" the temporal process and does not fall within that process. Creation is not in time but "in the beginning."

Nor, since there is no time where there is no created world, did the creation of the world take time. It had no temporal duration. We should not take the Genesis story, says Augustine,

> in a childish way, as though God exerted himself by working. For he spoke, not with an audible and temporal word, but with an intellectual and eternal word, and the things were done.[6]

God "created all things at once," [7] though, as we shall see later in this study, not all things were created in their present outward and visible forms. Living things were created in the beginning as "hidden seeds" and later, in the providence of God, came to exist in the way we now know them.

Thus the beginning of the world and time, that is to say the coming into being of changeable things, was not itself in time. Nor did it take time. For creation is an act of God's will, and God's willing is not in time, nor does it take time. God is eternal.

> Wherefore it is not true that he wills one thing at one moment and another thing at another moment, but once for all, and all at once, and always, does he will all things he wills.[8]

Augustine thinks that the six days of the Genesis story are to be understood "in some other way" than as literal days, defined

[5] de civ. Dei XI, 6. Cf. also XII, 16.

[6] de civ. Dei XI, 8. Cf. Ps. 148:5.

[7] de Gen. ad litt. VI, 6 (*creavit omnia simul*). Augustine quotes this Latin version of Ecclesiasticus 18:1 very often. The Septuagint reads ἔκτισεν τὰ πάντα κοινῇ. Cf. E. C. Messenger: Evolution and Theology (New York, Macmillan, 1932).

[8] Conf. XII, xv (18).

by the circuit of the sun.[9] The story of the six days is a dramatic representation of what took place at once and as a whole. God created all things at once (or, together). The author of the account of the creation in Genesis

> at first presents the creation as a whole, and then its parts are described in order according to the mystic number of the days.[10]

These "parts" of the creation are not to be taken as temporal parts, one succeeding another in time; the things enumerated in temporal order in the story were all created "together," without any intervals of duration or periods of time.[11] The creation of the world did not have any temporal duration. It did not take time, nor was it in time. God created the world "in the beginning."

What was God doing before he created the world? A hoary answer to this ancient puzzle was that God was preparing hell for those who pry into mysteries. This answer John Calvin was later to approve,[12] and thus demonstrate a deficiency both in patience and in finesse. Augustine, more charitable and more sensitive to the problem, however crudely stated, rejected this short answer and took the question more seriously.

The real problem behind this crude question was stated more clearly by Immanuel Kant. Kant said it is a natural tendency of the mind to conceive that

> since the beginning is an existence which is preceded by a time in which the thing is not, there must have been a preceding time in which the world was not, *i.e.*, an empty time.[13]

And since in empty time nothing can come to be, it seems that the world has no beginning.

This problem Augustine is willing to face quite frankly and seriously. His answer is in effect that empty time has no real meaning. Time has meaning only in relation to changing things. Time

[9] de Gen. ad litt. IIII, 26.
[10] de civ. Dei XI, 33.
[11] de Gen. ad litt. V, 3.
[12] Cf. Institutes I, xiv, 1, and Commentary on Genesis (Edinburgh, 1847), p. 61.
[13] Critique of Pure Reason (N. Kemp Smith, tr.), p. 397 (first antinomy, antithesis).

apart from changing things, empty time, is not a notion we can really think. He says,

> If by the term "heaven and earth" all the creation is understood, I confidently say that before God made heaven and earth he was not making anything. . . . But if someone's flighty mind wanders backward through semblances of times, and wonders that thou, omnipotent and all-creating and all-sustaining God, maker of heaven and earth, shouldst have refrained from such a work for innumerable ages before thou didst make it, let him wake up and start to think, because he wonders at false things. For whence could innumerable ages pass by which thou didst not make, since thou art the author and founder of all ages? Or what times should there be which were not founded by thee? . . . If however before heaven and earth there was no time, why is it asked what thou wast doing then? For there was no "then" when there was no time.[14]

So it is meaningless to speak of a time when the world was not. Any "then" we can conceive presupposes some changing thing and hence the existence of a creation. However far we may remove such a "then" into the past, we still think of some changing thing when we think of a "then." "There was no 'then,' when there was no time."

Hence the world has existed throughout all time. Does this mean the world has always existed? Yes, if "always" means "at all times," then the world has always existed. To say that the world has always existed, and also to say that the world had a beginning, is not to fall into a contradiction, if "always" means "at all times." For time began with the created world, and there was no time "before" the created world.

Augustine returns to this conclusion when he ponders another theological puzzle, namely "what God could be the Lord of, if there was not always some creature?" For he dares not speak as if "the Lord God was ever not Lord," that is to say as if there had not always been some responsible creatures who acknowledged God as Lord. Among the many thoughts that occur to his mind, the one that pleases him best is that the angels have at all times been subject to God. For, as we shall see later, man was

[14] Conf. XI, xii-xiii (14–15). Cf. also VII, xv (21).

created in the beginning "potentially" and later came to have his present form, whereas the angels belong to that "intellectual heaven" which was created perfectly formed in the beginning. And if this is so,

> then they have existed in all time, for time came into being along with them. And who will say that what was in all time, was not always?

God therefore has always been Lord of creation, and there has always been a creation over which God is Lord.[15]

At this point Augustine has to defend his suggestion against the charge that if the angels have always existed, then they are co-eternal with God, which would obscure the contrast between God and his creatures. His defense is that this contrast is not between what is earlier and what is later in time. It is a distinction between what is unchangeable and what is changeable. God's eternity is his unchangeableness, and in this sense the angels are not eternal. What God created is not co-eternal with him,

> since he existed before it, although at no time did he exist without it, preceding it not by some passing duration but by an abiding perpetuity.[16]

God is "prior" to the world not by precedence in the dimension of time, but by his eternity. By eternity Augustine does not mean an indefinite extension of time. He can say that the angels "always" existed but are not eternal. The past "eternal times" of which even the Apostle Paul speaks are not co-eternal with God.[17] By eternity he means unchangeableness. The world of created things including the angels changes; God does not. In God there is no passage; the created world and all things in it are in passage. Thus to say the world always existed would in no way blur the real contrast between God and his creatures.

[15] de civ. Dei XII, 16 (15 in NPNF). He says he fears if he makes this reply he may be accused of recklessness, therefore he does not make it as a positive assertion. But his hesitation is not at saying there was no time when there was no time. He says it would be utter foolishness to deny this. His point is that the suggestion about the *angels* is speculation beyond what is clearly taught in Scripture. It is plain that as far as speculation goes he is inclined toward this suggestion.

[16] de civ. Dei XII, 16 (15 in NPNF).

[17] de civ. Dei XII, 17 (16 in NPNF). Cf. Titus 1:2.

Nor dost thou by time precede time; otherwise thou wouldst not precede all times. But thou precedest all past times by the sublimity of ever-present eternity, and thou surpassest all future times, because they are yet to come and when they come they will be past; "thou however art the same and thy years fail not." [18]

When therefore we find Augustine speaking, as he often does speak, of a "past" before the world was made, or of the nothingness in which things were "before" they were created, we must understand him to mean by these terms a "precedence" not by time but by eternity. The contrast between God and the world should not be described in such a way as to suggest a being who existed at a time when other beings did not exist. For not even the "merest simpleton" would say there was a time when there was no time. It is rather a contrast between an unchangeable being and changing beings.

This contrast between time and eternity to which Augustine's thought has led him presents him with a knot he cannot untie. He is confronted, as Étienne Gilson says, with two modes of being which are not homogeneous but heterogeneous. We are subject, even in our thought, to the law of becoming. How then can we represent to ourselves the mode of being of that which is unchangeable? [19] Here is a problem indeed, and for it Augustine has no answer. What is worse, he is committed to saying that this unchangeable being, which he cannot adequately represent to himself, creates, knows, and administers a world of changing things. At this point Augustine is frank to say that no analogies can really help us. For example, he considers an analogy from the singing of a familiar psalm. As Augustine sings the psalm its parts succeed one another from beginning to end, yet while singing each of the parts he knows the whole of the psalm.

But far be it that thou, creator of the universe, creator of souls and bodies, far be it, that thou shouldest in this way know all things future and past. Far, far more wonderfully and in a far more hidden way dost thou know them.[20]

[18] Conf. XI, xiii (16). Cf. Ps. 102:27 (101:28).

[19] Introduction à l'étude de saint Augustin (Paris, Vrin, 1929), pp. 246, 251. Cf. Conf. XI, xi (13).

[20] Conf. XI, xxxi (41).

How an unchangeable being can have any real relation to changing beings remains a mystery. What Augustine does is to locate the mystery, so to speak, and confess it.

Now if we take seriously what Augustine has said so far — if indeed a created world has "always" existed, so there was no time when the world was not — then what meaning remains for the phrase "in the beginning"? It would seem that instead of explaining the phrase Augustine has explained it away.

(b) The Meaning of History

At this point some may say there are two Augustines. There is Augustine the Neoplatonist, and there is Augustine the Christian dogmatist. The former could have easily dispensed with the notion that the world had a "beginning." The latter, in retaining it, bowed blindly to the authority of the Scriptures. This interpretation would miss the point and distort the facts. In his thought about the creation of the world there is only one Augustine. This is the Augustine who found in the Bible a truth which illumined his experience and therefore became normative for his thought.

This can be discerned in his treatment of the Neoplatonic and Stoic theories of history. We shall see how the truth he found in Genesis enabled him to articulate a different theory of the meaning of history from theirs, a theory which has since been woven into the fabric of western culture. We shall see also that the force of this truth for Augustine was in its suggestive power.

In the eleventh book of the City of God Augustine takes issue with the Neoplatonic view of God and the world. At first it seems that he quarrels with the Neoplatonists because they say the world always existed and was not created in time. But this can hardly be the point of his attack. For a little later in the same book this is precisely what he himself says, as we have seen, after explaining that time "began" with the creation. As his argument develops we see that his real quarrel is with their view of the history and destiny of the soul.

The point Augustine wishes to drive home is that an understanding of the soul and its destiny requires a realistic view of history. What he is attacking is the Neoplatonic conception of

time as a flux of shadowy forms in which there can be no decisively novel events. He is opposing their devaluation of the historical character of the world. His argument is that since the world, and within it human history, had a "beginning," it is a process within which novel and decisive events can and do occur. There are in this process events which never occurred before, and such events decide the future in a real and effective way, so that the same events could never recur.

The Neoplatonists, Augustine supposes, do not wish to say that the soul is co-eternal with God. For then they could not explain why the soul is now in a state of misery in which it was not before. If on the other hand they say that the soul ceaselessly undergoes an alternation of states of happiness and states of misery, they land in absurdity. For in each state of so-called happiness, either it would foresee its coming misery, or it would be deceived. In neither case could it be truly happy. The way out of their dilemma, says Augustine, is to recognize that both the soul's entry into its present state of misery, and its entry into a future state of happiness are novel and decisive events.

The misery which is the soul's present lot, he says, is a "new misery" which the soul had not experienced before; it is not a repetition of what the soul suffered in previous incarnations, as the Neoplatonists suppose. Likewise the happiness to which the soul looks forward, which will free it from its present misery, means that

> something new, and that an important and splendid thing, happens to the soul, which never in a whole past eternity had happened to it before.[21]

Augustine knows the Neoplatonists hesitate to say there is genuine novelty in history because they fear this would contradict the unchangeableness of God. But this fear is unfounded. The apparent dilemma, "God is unchangeable and history is unreal" *or* "God is changeable and history is real," is not a true dilemma. Augustine sees another possibility: God is unchangeable and his-

[21] de civ. Dei XI, 4. Cf. also X, 30; XII, 21 (20 in NPNF). Augustine excepts Porphyry, who acknowledged that the soul which found the happy life did not lose it again, and at this point "abjured the tenets of his school" (XII, 21).

tory is real, for God created the world and with it time "in the beginning."

If therefore the Neoplatonists will acknowledge, as he thinks they must, that the soul

like number has a beginning but no end and for that reason, once having experienced miseries, if freed from them will never afterward be miserable, they will certainly not doubt that this is done with the abiding immutability of the counsel of God. Let them then in like manner believe that the world could have been made beginning with time (*ex tempore*), and that notwithstanding this fact God did not change, in making it, his eternal counsel and will.[22]

For if the soul can have a real history, though God be eternal, so can the world. The process of history is not a mere reflection of timeless forms, a shadowy process in which no decisive changes are effected. Like the number series it has a beginning but no end.[23] It cannot run back or stop. In it something is decisively achieved. Yet, because God's creative act is not itself in time but "in the beginning," the unchangeableness of God is not called into question.

In this argument against the Neoplatonists we have an example of the way Augustine uses the truth brought to his mind by Genesis. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." It is an instrument for detecting the fundamental defect in the Neoplatonic view of the world, wherein the history of the world, and particularly the history of the soul, becomes infected with unreality. And it is a source of illumination, suggesting that the eternal God wills that new things come to pass in the course of time.

Similarly Augustine confronts the Stoics, who held that the history of the world consists of ceaselessly recurring cycles of events, that for example

just as in that [past] age the philosopher Plato taught disciples in the city of Athens and in that school which is called the Academy, so also the same Plato and the same city and the same school and the same

[22] de civ. Dei XI, 4.

[23] Though the drama of human life on this earth will have an end (cf. de civ. Dei XX, 7), this will be the end of the age (*saeculum*) but not the end of time. Presumably, time will exist as long as there are changing creatures.

disciples had been repeated through innumerable ages before, at long but determined intervals, and through innumerable ages thereafter are to be repeated.[24]

Augustine cannot believe this.

For once Christ died for our sins. But rising up from the dead he dies no more, and death will no more have dominion over him. And we after the resurrection shall be ever with the Lord.[25]

Nothing, he says, more thoroughly explodes the theory of recurring cycles of history than the fact of the eternal life of the saints.[26]

There are events in the history of the world — for example the fall, the crucifixion, the resurrection, our entrance into everlasting life — which happen once for all. Of these events, in the theater of the cosmos, there are no repeat performances. Such events never occurred before and will never occur again, for they decide the future. Historical time therefore proceeds not in circles but in a straight line. It proceeds in a straight line because it has a "beginning," as a circle does not.

The Stoics, like the Neoplatonists, had been concerned to maintain the immutability of God. They had argued that, since the world must have always existed, and since there must be a finite number of things in the world (for they said not even God's knowledge could comprehend the infinite), there must be recurring cycles of the events in which these things are combined. It is significant that in his argument against the Stoics Augustine does not deny the world "always" existed. Nor does he deny the immutability of God. What he denies is their view of God's knowledge and their conclusion about the nature of history.

Here Augustine recurs to the analogy of the number series. The series of historical events, he says, is like the number series in that new members of the series continually succeed earlier ones. Yet this does not compromise the immutability of God by requiring that God should have new thoughts, because

[24] de civ. Dei XII, 14 (13 in NPNF).
[25] de civ. Dei XII, 14 (13 in NPNF). Cf. Rom. 6:9; I Thess. 4:16.
[26] de civ. Dei XII, 20 (19 in NPNF).

the infinity of number, although there is no numbering of infinite numbers, is nevertheless not incomprehensible to him, of whose understanding there is no numbering.[27]

If therefore the Stoics corrected their view of God's knowledge, they could admit that new events continually come into being without new thoughts in God. Their misconception of perfection, namely their assumption that God's perfection requires that the world be a finite completion, has led them to deny the genuine novelty and decisiveness of historical events.

Contrary to their view Augustine says, "The divinity can make things which, not to himself but to the world, are new." [28] God can begin a "new work"; he can make "new things"; he can make his later works novel and unlike what went before them. Yet in all this he acts with the same eternal will.

He brought it about by one and the same everlasting and immutable will that the things he created formerly did not exist, as long as they were not, and that afterward they did exist when they began to be.[29]

God is eternal. We live in a world in which genuinely novel and decisive events occur. Of this world God is creator. Augustine found it possible to think these three thoughts together, and to understand each in the light of the others. He was led to think them together by the truth he found in the Bible. "In the beginning God created heaven and earth."

It is notable that in neither of these confrontations with non-Christian views of history do we find Augustine's faith either in conflict with his reason or irrelevant to his thought. There are not two Augustines here, one blindly accepting the Bible, the other thinking as a philosopher. There is one Augustine, who finds in the Bible a new perspective and a new illumination of the meanings of time, history, and eternity, an illumination his thought must then explore and communicate.

We should not suppose that Augustine's exploration of these problems was conclusive and final, either for him or for us. I

[27] de civ. Dei XII, 19 (18 in NPNF).
[28] de civ. Dei XII, 21 (20 in NPNF). Cf. also 19.
[29] de civ. Dei XII, 18 (17 in NPNF).

doubt whether he would have said he had a "solution" in the sense that he "saw" how an eternal being could be dynamically related to a world of changing things. Here as elsewhere his thought moves with a constant sense of the mystery of the world and God. Nor were these problems posed for him in quite the way they are posed in our time. For example, some modern philosophers, unlike the Neoplatonists and Stoics, question whether temporal events may not be in some way new for God as well as for us, so as to require a new definition of the unchangeableness of God.

In summary, how does the notion of a "beginning" of the world function in Augustine's thought? It does not mean the world was created in time, for time was created with the world and not before it; hence the creation has existed at all times. Nor does it mean, on the other hand, simply that the world is dependent on God for its existence, for many ancient philosophers had said this, as Augustine well knew, without supposing a "beginning." Its function in Augustine's thought was to open to him a way of understanding and saying that though God is eternal, time is real, and that human history is neither a dream-like appearance of eternity nor a perpetual cycle in which nothing is new. History is made up of events which are both new and decisive, as a "beginning" is new and decisive. For it is the eternal will of the creator that in these events something real should be accomplished.

2. *Heaven and Earth*

In the beginning God created heaven and earth. Augustine is unwilling to "strive about words" in interpreting "heaven and earth." By these words various things may be understood and yet all be true. He takes them to mean the "intellectual heaven" and the "formless earth." [30]

The intellectual heaven is not the visible firmament. It is the perfectly formed realm of angels, the spiritual creation which is superior to all things save God. For the angels, though changeable creatures and hence not co-eternal with God, have a certain par-

[30] Conf. XII, xiii (16).

ticipation in eternity. "By incessantly and unfailingly cleaving" to him, they enjoy perpetually the vision of God.

This intellectual heaven which God made in the beginning is near to God. The formless earth is "near to nothing," though it is not nothing.[31] This "formless earth" is not the visible world; it is that "matter" from which all bodies, including the firmament, were formed. It is near to nothing because it is entirely unformed and without quality, though from it the qualities we perceive are formed. It is what the Greeks called ὕλη.[32]

This formless matter is the principle of change, not that it is an efficient cause of change, but in that it is the condition of change. Just what it is in itself Augustine finds it difficult to say.

> For the changeableness of changeable things is itself capable of all forms, into which changeable things are changed. And what is this changeableness? . . . If one might say, "a nothing something," an "is, is not," I would say, this is it. Yet it already had some sort of being, so that it was capable of receiving those visible and compound forms.[33]

Plato would have said we apprehend it by a "bastard" kind of thought, though we are compelled to think it.

We should not think that God first created this formless matter and then, later in time, formed it into particular visible things. He created all things together: the intellectual heaven, the formless earth, and the visible world. All things were created at once. God's works were not made of previously existing matter,

> but of matter concreated, that is created at the same time by thee, because thou didst give form to its formlessness without any lapse of time. For since the matter of heaven and earth is one thing, and the visible form of heaven and earth another, thou madest matter of absolutely nothing, but the visible form of the world from unformed matter, yet both together, so that the form followed the matter with no interval of time.[34]

[31] Conf. XII, vii (7).

[32] de natura boni 18. Cf. C. J. O'Toole: The Philosophy of Creation in the Writings of St. Augustine (Washington, Catholic University, 1944), ch. 3.

[33] Conf. XII, vi (6). The association of formless matter with change leads Augustine to speak of a "spiritual matter," since angels and human souls, as well as bodies, are changeable. Cf. Conf. XII, xx (29) and de Gen. ad litt. V, 5; VII, 9, 10.

[34] Conf. XIII, xxxiii (48).

Matter thus is prior to determinate form not in respect to time, but in respect to "origin," as for example the sound is prior to the tune.[35]

Thus the world came into existence in the beginning. But not all things were created "visibly and actually." The living things which inhabit the earth were created "potentially or causally" in the form of "hidden seeds" or "seminal causes" (*rationes seminales*). From these seminal causes, or "reasons," they were to be brought forth later, in the providence of God and in due time, in the visible forms in which they are now known to us.

So the world may be likened to a tree, which develops in the course of time from its beginning in a seed.

> Just as in that seed there were together (*simul*) invisibly all the things which would in time develop into the tree, so the world itself is to be thought to have had together — since God created all things together — all the things which were made in it and with it when the day was made, not only the heaven with the sun and the moon and the constellations . . . and the earth and the abysses . . . but also those things which the water and the earth produced potentially and causally, before they should arise in the course of time in the way we now know them, through those operations which God carries on even till now.[36]

These seminal causes placed in the world in the beginning were not ordinary seeds or germ cells. They were "hidden" seeds, potentials or matrices from which when the circumstances were appropriate individuals of various species would be brought forth. The species would then be propagated according to their kind.[37]

For example, Augustine thought that human beings as we know them have not existed from the beginning of the world. The human race as we know it began to exist in the course of time. Man was created in the beginning not in his visible form, but "invisibly, potentially, causally, in the way in which things yet to be (in contrast to things which already exist) are made." [38]

[35] Conf. XII, xxix (40).

[36] de Gen. ad litt. V, 23.

[37] Cf. M. J. McKeough: The Meaning of the Rationes Seminales in St. Augustine (Washington, Catholic University, 1926); E. C. Messenger, op. cit.; and C. J. O'Toole, op. cit.

[38] de Gen. ad litt. VI, 6.

Man was made in the beginning potentially, to be given actual form and visible existence "in his time." [39]

The seminal causes, according to Augustine, ordinarily give rise to living things according to determinate natural laws.

That whole ordinary course of nature has what one might call its own natural laws, according to which even the spirit of life, which is a created thing, has what one might call its own appetites determined in some way, so that even the evil will cannot go beyond them. And the elements of this corporeal world have their established power and quality, defining how much each one will flourish or not, and what may or may not become from what. Just as from these origins are all things which arise, so, each in its own time and of its own kind, they enter upon their comings forth and progressions and limits and decreasings.[40]

Still the supernatural intervention of God in the course of events is possible, though this intervention is not contrary to the potentialities God created in the beginning.

Above, however, this natural movement and course of things, the power of the Creator has in itself ability to act concerning all these things otherwise than their seminal causes, as it were, have — though this is not something he did not put into them [as a possibility] that it might be accomplished, at least by himself. For he is omnipotent not by thoughtless power, but by the strength of wisdom, and he does concerning each thing in its time that which he made in it before, that it might be possible for him.[41]

[39] de Gen. ad litt. VI, 8. In the City of God Augustine argues against those who hold that the human race always existed. He says, "From the sacred writings we compute that six thousand years have not yet passed since the institution of mankind." XII, 11 (10 in NPNF). Dods' translation in NPNF is misleading since he leaves out an equivalent of *ab institutione hominis*. It seems probable that Augustine is not here arguing that the *world* is less than 6000 years old, as the editor of NPNF, J. E. C. Welldon in his edition (London, S.P.C.K., 1924), and V. J. Bourke: Augustine's Quest for Wisdom (Milwaukee, Bruce, 1945), p. 265, all seem to suggest. Later in the same book of the City of God Augustine says, "I confess I am ignorant what ages passed before the human race was instituted" (17–16 in NPNF).

Augustine was inclined to think that the human *soul* was not created "causally" but "actually" in the beginning, later to be united with man's body, though he was aware of the difficulties attending this view. Cf. de Gen. ad litt. VII, 22–28, 33; Bourke: op cit., pp. 232–236; Messenger: op. cit., pp. 177–178; and McKeough: op. cit., p. 87. He was torn between "creationism" and "traducianism" as explanations of the origin of the souls of subsequent human beings.

[40] de Gen. ad litt. IX, 17.

[41] de Gen. ad litt. IX, 17.

Finally we should notice Augustine's warnings against crude and anthropomorphic images of God's act in creating heaven and earth. Let us not understand the creation, he says, as do the "little ones and carnal" (who are not to be despised, though they are weak in understanding), who think that

> God like a man, or like some powerful being, faced with an immense difficulty, did, by some new and sudden resolution, make heaven and earth outside himself, as if in a distant region.[42]

As there is no time before the world, when God might have existed and the world did not, so there is no place beside the world, where God might be exterior to the world.[43] God does not make the world as a carpenter makes a chest, because the carpenter is outside the chest and fashions it from without,

> but God, infused into the world, fashions it, being everywhere present he fashions it, and does not withdraw to some other place. Nor does he, as it were, handle from without the mass which he fashions. By the presence of his majesty he makes what he makes; by his presence he governs what he made.[44]

3. *Out of Nothing*

Following a tradition which had long served the church as a weapon against the Gnostics, Augustine finds in the Scriptures [45] the teaching that the world was created from nothing. By this he does not mean that there was a something, which is called "nothing," from which the world was made. He is not hypostatizing. He means what he says: "Thou wert, and nothing was there besides, from which thou createdst heaven and earth." [46] The world was not made from God, as though God took some of his own substance and from it fashioned the world. Nor was it made from anything else. There was, and is, nothing else beside God and what God made. Unlike man, "God had no need of any

[42] Conf. XII, xxvii (37).
[43] de civ. Dei XI, 5.
[44] In Joannis evangelium II, 10 (Migne: PL).
[45] In de nat. boni 26, he cites Rom. 4:17, II Macc. 7:28, and Ps. 148:5. He uses *de nihilo*, as a more exact expression than *ex nihilo* would be. Cf. de nat. boni 27.
[46] Conf. XII, vii (7).

material he himself had not made, to assist his omnipotence." [47] The world was brought into being out of nothingness.

No more than in the case of "in the beginning" did this "out of nothing" remain an inert and inhibiting foreign body, so to speak, in Augustine's mind. It functioned for him as an illuminating and liberating truth. This can be seen in two instances; first, his defense of the goodness of the body against the Neoplatonists and the Manichaeans, and second, his attack on the Manichaean view that the soul is of the same substance as God.

At the root of many of the errors of the Neoplatonists Augustine finds an aversion from the body. The "Platonists," says Augustine, unlike the Manichaeans do not detest our present bodies as evil by nature. For they attribute all the elements of the visible world to God as maker.

> Nevertheless they think that souls are so affected by the earthly body and its death-infected members, that from this source come the diseases of desires and fears and joy and sorrow in which . . . all the viciousness of human life is contained.[48]

This aversion from the flesh is itself "fleshly," for "these feelings arise from human fancy, not from divine truth." It prevents the Neoplatonists from confessing the truth of such Christian doctrines as the resurrection and the final glorification of the body.

This aversion from the body which Augustine notices among the Neoplatonists is connected with an ambiguity about the formless matter which enters into the composition of all changeable things. Plotinus, for example, spoke at times of this formless matter or "non-being" as "the first evil," even though this was not consistent with some of his own principles.[49]

Since, for Augustine, the world is made from absolutely nothing, even this formless matter was created by God, concreated with

[47] de nat. boni 27.

[48] de civ. Dei XIV, 5.

[49] Cf. Enn. I, viii, 3, 14; II, iv, 16; and W. R. Inge: The Philosophy of Plotinus (London, Longmans, 1918), v. I, p. 134. Porphyry reported that Plotinus was ashamed of being "in the body." Plotinus, nevertheless, does not assert that non-being (τὸ μὴ ὄν), which he distinguished from "absolutely nothing" (οὐκ ὄν), is intrinsically evil so clearly and consistently as Étienne Gilson seems to suggest he does. Cf. The Spirit of Mediaeval Philosophy (New York, Scribner's, 1936), p. 111.

the individual natures for whose forms it is the matter. And since all that God made is very good, even this formless matter is good. Thus Augustine is enabled to be clearer in mind and firmer in conviction as to the goodness of all that is not nothing than Plotinus seems to have been. The notion of creation from nothing clarified and strengthened Augustine's affirmative vision of universal good.

Hence the body is not of itself evil, or even a "clog to the soul" as the "Platonists" say.

> It is not the body, but the corruptibility of the body, that is burdensome to the soul. . . . [For] the soul is burdened, not by any body whatsoever, but the body such as it has become in consequence of sin.[50]
>
> And though the healthy and strong man feels heavier to other men carrying him than the thin and sickly man does, yet the man himself moves and carries his own body with less feeling of burden, when he has the greater bulk of vigorous health, than when his frame is reduced to a minimum by hunger or disease. . . . And who can explain in words how much difference there is between the present state we call health and our future immortality? [51]

Nor are our souls locked up in our bodies as a punishment for evils done in some previous existence, as the Neoplatonists say. "The soul is rather given to the body that it [*i.e.* the soul] may do good things." [52] Therefore the goal of life is not to escape from the body, but that the body as well as the soul should be saved from corruption and pass from sickness to health.

We should of course remember it was from the Neoplatonists themselves that Augustine had caught a vision of the goodness of all beings of whatever nature. What we now notice is that the notion of the creation of all things from nothing enables Augustine to clarify and maintain this vision, and to guard against the Neoplatonic flight from the bodily and the historical.

When we turn to Augustine's treatment of the Manichaean view of the body, the contrast is even more striking. One might say the conception of creation from nothing completes Augustine's liberation from Manichaeanism, which Neoplatonism had begun

[50] de civ. Dei XIII, 16.
[51] de civ. Dei XIII, 18.
[52] de civ. Dei X, 30. Cf. also XXII, 24, and de doctrina Christiana I, 24.

before he became a Christian. Certainly it is clear in his anti-Manichaean writings that this conception seems to him of fundamental importance in his argument.

The Manichaeans supposed that there is "some evil nature, brought forth and propagated by its own principle" in opposition to God.[53] This evil nature is matter. Hence bodies formed of matter are evil. All flesh is the work of the evil principle. But, says Augustine, this is not true. It is God alone who created from nothing all things both spiritual and corporeal. Hence matter is not something opposed to God, or contrary to God's will, for he created it. Hence bodies made of matter are not by nature evil and recalcitrant to good. Because God created both matter and bodies from nothing, and their natures are due to him alone. Therefore, as the apostle says, we should glorify God in our bodies. The Manichaeans should

> learn that all natures God made and established are ordered in degrees of excellence from the highest to the lowest, and that all are good, though some are better than others, and that they all were made of nothing, though God their maker made use of his own wisdom, so to speak, to give being to what was not, and that as far as it had being it might be good, but that as far as it was deficient, it might show that it was not begotten of God, but made by him from nothing.[54]

This passage gives us a second illustration of the way the notion of creation from nothing functioned in Augustine's thought. That the body is created from nothing, not from some evil matter, means the body is good. That the soul is created from nothing, not from God's own nature, means the soul is limited, changeable, and fallible.

The Manichaeans said the soul is not created by God but begotten of God and is thus of God's own nature, and therefore, they thought, contrary to the evil principle in matter. This view of the soul, says Augustine, contradicts the soul's own witness to its nature as a changeable being, capable of falling away from the good, whereas God is unchangeable and unchangeably good. The Manichaeans do not do justice to the facts.

[53] de civ. Dei XI, 22.
[54] contra epistulam fundamenti, 25. Cf. de nat. boni, 18.

Let them think, in Christian sanity, that the soul, which can be changed for the worse by its own will and be corrupted by sin, and thus be deprived of the light of unchangeable truth, is not a part of God nor is it of the same nature as God, but has been made far different from its maker.[55]

It is true that the soul is created in the image of God, but it cannot be of the same nature as God. We know ourselves too well for that, his thought runs. Let us not deceive ourselves. We are not parts of God, nor are we begotten by God, so that we have his nature as a child has its parent's nature. We are created by God from nothing.

Both body and soul therefore are created by God from nothing. Since they are created by God they are, in their natures, good, for all that God creates is good.

What alone is not from Thee is that which is not, and the motion of the will from Thee, who art, to that which is less than Thee, because such motion is a fault and a sin.[56]

Since body and soul are created from nothing they are, unlike God, changeable and capable of corruption.

In these ways the image of God's creation of the world from nothing meant for Augustine an illumination of his experience and a liberation from restrictive and confusing categories of thought. It also left him with a problem, just as the conception of the unchangeableness of God had left him with the mystery of the relation between eternity and time. Here the problem is in some ways an even more serious one. It is as follows. In creating, if God creates from nothing, God is absolutely unconditioned by anything other than himself. Likewise the things created are not conditioned, in their natures as created, by anything other than God. Thus it becomes difficult to see how, if God is perfectly good, any motion away from God could have arisen in any of his creatures.

[55] de civ. Dei XI, 22.
[56] Conf. XII, xi (11).

4. *"And behold, it was very good"*

The creation was very good, both in reason and in result. The reason of the creation was simply this, "that the good God produced good things." God was not driven by any necessity to create the world, for instance a necessity of doing so to repulse the evil power which, according to the Manichaeans, warred against him.[57]

There are others, Augustine says, who unlike the Manichaeans do indeed believe in God as the only source of all things, and have yet refused to accept with a good and simple faith this good and simple reason for the creation of the world — Origen, for example. For Origen believed that this world was created not for the production of good things but for the restraint of evil, so that souls might be assigned to diverse stations in the universe and to diverse bodies as prison-houses, according to their respective merits. How could a man "so learned and so well versed in the literature of the church" have thought these things? [58] Even Plato had seen that "the most sufficient reason for the founding of the world" was "that by the good God good works were made," whether he had learned this directly or indirectly from Genesis, or whether he had, "by his quick-sighted genius, perceived the invisible things of God, understood through the things which are made." [59]

As in its reason so in its result, the creation is very good. This not only God but also man can see.

> Thanks to Thee, O Lord. We behold the heaven and earth. . . . We see . . . . this space of air through which wander the fowls of heaven between those waters which are borne in vapors above them, and in clear nights distil down in dew, and those heavier waters which flow along the earth. . . . We behold the lights shining from above, the sun to suffice for the day, the moon and the stars to cheer the night; and that, by all these, times should be marked and signified. We behold on all sides a moist element, replenished with fishes, beasts, and birds. . . . We behold the face of the earth adorned with living things, and man, created after Thy image and likeness (that is the power of reason and

[57] de civ. Dei XI, 22.
[58] de civ. Dei XI, 23.
[59] de civ. Dei XI, 21. Cf. Timaeus 29E–30B.

understanding), set over all irrational creatures. . . . These things we behold, and they are severally good, and altogether are very good.[60]

. . . . .

Augustine's thought about the creation of the world amounts to a searching and persistent exploration rather than a finished theory. And it is not surprising that we find, in his writings on the subject, unresolved tensions, unsolved problems, and constant confessions of mystery.

The old wineskins of classical and Hellenistic thought were strained, like all other philosophical systems have since been strained, when the wine of a new insight was poured into them. Nor was Augustine's handling of Scripture altogether free from bondage to ecclesiastical tradition, for example his treatment of the formation of Eve. His confessions of confrontation with mystery certainly should not surprise us, when we consider the sort of questions he was asking, though they should not lead us to underestimate his intellectual courage. Only a false humility, which is timidity in disguise, talks of the limitations of the mind before those limits are reached.

But it is misleading to say for example, as F. R. Tennant does, "When the beginning of Time is dealt with, Augustine and, later, the schoolmen rely on revelation rather than philosophy." [61] First, because just at this point I find the contrast between Augustine's treatment of creation and that of Thomas Aquinas most striking. Second, because of the more general suggestion that there is something intrinsically unphilosophical about Augustine's reliance on the Bible.

Augustine was a man who early in life had begun to think for himself, and he did not stop thinking when he became a Christian. When he became a Christian he began to think from a different viewpoint, and we have seen how from this new viewpoint he came to have a new understanding of his world. This new understanding was the product of thought, though certainly of thought guided by a new vision. In other words it was for Augustine genuine, though partial, understanding, not acquiescence in unintelligibility.

[60] Conf. XIII, xxxii (47).
[61] Philosophical Theology (Cambridge University, 1930), v. II, p. 132.

It is true that Augustine relied on the Bible in the sense that he found there a new direction for his thought about the world and God. It is misleading to suggest, as Tennant seems to do, that this reliance was more external and unthinking, less concerned for clarity and comprehensiveness in thinking, that is to say, less "philosophical" in this sense, than reliance on Plotinus or on Plotinus' vision would have been. It could be argued that Augustine, in his thought about God and the world, was no less philosophical than Plotinus, though the thought of each proceeded from a different initial vision. Without such a vision philosophy tells no tales about the world.

The new truth Augustine found in the Bible, which both fulfilled the promise of Neoplatonism and superseded it, was that God is the Creator of all things in heaven and earth. This new vision of the creativity of God was, in one sense indeed, the end of a search, but in another and more important sense, as I hope this study has illustrated, it was for Augustine a new beginning.

SOME EARLY MEDIEVAL COMMENTARIES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

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IT is a commonplace that the Biblical commentators of the earlier Middle Ages were traditionalists who copied or adapted the Fathers and rarely added much of their own. At the same time there was much variation in method; for there is a world of difference between the commentaries of Bede or Paschasius, carefully integrated works bearing the impress of the writer's own mind and personality, and compilations that are no more than *collectanea* of Patristic passages strung together but lacking inner cohesion. Between these two extremes are works like those of Hrabanus or even Alcuin. Most of the material in them is borrowed, but its arrangement has been carried out with some skill and the compiler, besides quoting his authorities verbally, gives some variety to his exposition by reproducing part of the traditional teaching in his own words. The commentators also differ greatly in the degree to which they acknowledge their sources. Bede and Hrabanus often indicated their indebtedness to others by specific statements in the text or by a more general reference in the margin to the author cited.[1] Even so the reader needs to be on his guard, because the commentators, by quoting the *ipsissima verba* of their source, may completely mislead him. A palmary example of this occurs in Hrabanus' commentary on Genesis. He introduces (PL 107, 506B) a discussion of Lamech and his seventy-seven descendants who perished in the Flood with the words: "referebat quidam Hebraeus in apocryphis eorum libris." This might easily be interpreted as an allusion to the mysterious Jewish scholar whom Hrabanus is supposed to have consulted and to whom we shall have to return. Actually the whole phrase together with what follows has been copied from a letter (Ep. 36) of Jerome's to Damasus. Similarly, in another passage (PL 107, 166C) Hrabanus remarks, "nomina invenire non

[1] Cf. Laistner, Hand-list of Bede MSS, pp. 44 and 50; Journ. Theol. Stud. 34 (1933), pp. 350–354; P(atrologia) L(atina) 107, 729B–C and 109, 10A.

potui," again employing the exact words of Jerome in the Quaestiones Hebraicae. Bede, on the other hand, citing the same passage from Jerome, introduces it thus: "Hieronymus se invenire non potuisse testatur." But there is still another reason for exercising caution. Every scholar of experience is aware that, when he meets with a quotation from a classical Latin author in an author of the eighth or ninth century, he must not assume that it has been taken directly from the original source. There are innumerable quotations from Virgil, Cicero, Terence, and others to be found in the works of Jerome or in Isidore's Etymologies, which medieval commentators borrowed at second hand. But the same principle applies also to Patristic citations. Because a ninth century author states that he is quoting Jerome or Augustine, this does not constitute proof without corroboration; he may have filched the whole passage from Isidore, Bede, or Alcuin. In short, the problem of medieval *Quellenforschung* is a great deal more intricate than it seems. If the present inquiry is concerned primarily with one of the less known exegetes of the ninth century, there is ample justification for what might seem, superficially considered, an arid quest. Most of what has been written about Angelomus of Luxeuil and his sources is either demonstrably incorrect or highly misleading. A study of his methods illustrates the problems indicated above. He had access to and used several authors who were, so to say, off the main track of Biblical exegesis in his day. And, finally, an inquiry into his sources may help to throw a little light on what is still an obscure problem — the resources of the library at Luxeuil about the middle of the ninth century.

Angelomus seems to have composed his three commentaries approximately during the decade, 845–855. Genesis engaged his attention first. The exposition of the Song of Songs was finished soon after March, 851, as an allusion to the recent death of Irmingard, wife of Lothar I, shows. The lengthy Enarrationes in libros Regum I–IV must have been completed before the deaths of Lothar and of Drogo, bishop of Metz.[2] In his prefaces Angelo-

[2] That is, in English parlance, I and II Samuel and I and II Kings. References to Angelomus are to PL 115, but the three prefaces have also been published in Mon. Germ. Hist.: Epistolae V. The few facts about Angelomus' life that can be gleaned

mus explains his method of composition and this information, interesting in itself, is borne out by a study of his sources. Several of the authors to whom he is most indebted he does not name at all; but where he does indicate his authority he can usually be shown to have known him directly and not through an intermediary. On the urging of the priest Leotric, to whom the commentary on Genesis is dedicated, but reluctantly because of his literary inexperience, Angelomus began to compose an exposition of the opening chapters of Genesis. It was based on what he had learnt from his former teacher, Mellinus, and was intended to amplify those parts which Isidore of Seville had left unexplained. Mellinus had then encouraged the young author to read aloud what he had written and had lent him Augustine's De Genesi contra Manichaeos to read for comparison. Subsequently Angelomus set himself to expound the whole of Genesis. In some parts, he says, he has quoted verbally from the Fathers, in others he has abbreviated their teaching and reproduced it in his own language. There is also some material learnt from others but not to be found in the books in the library, and to this he has added illustrative examples. Though primarily concerned with the historical sense of Scripture, he has not neglected the allegorical and the moral.

The commentary on Samuel and Kings was undertaken at the request of his fellow-monks and was encouraged by his bishop, particularly "quod a nullo doctorum per omnia expositum apud nos haberetur antiquorum," that is, the monastery library possessed no complete exposition by an "ancient" author of these four historical books. Manitius drew attention to the importance of the words *per omnia*, but failed to appreciate the significance of *antiquorum*. Dümmler (MGH: Epist. V, p. 622, note 1) with strange ineptitude observed that evidently Angelomus did not have access to the commentary by Hrabanus, the very book which he used more extensively than any other! The terminology, in

from his writings have been well discussed by Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. I, pp. 418–419; but Manitius' treatment of the source-problem is completely unreliable because he has ignored the intermediate sources. Thus, the references to pseudo-Quintilian and Cicero's De senectute come from Jerome. The passages from Josephus and Cassiodorus, the description of Thule, and the philological derivation of *pythonissa* were all taken by Angelomus from Bede. The description of the Dead Sea is also from Bede, not from Isidore. Further details will be found in their context below.

fact, is crucial. In the commentary (330D), after a long quotation from Augustine and a briefer one from Bede, Angelomus contrasts *antiqua* and *moderna volumina*. Earlier, in his preface (245A) he had alluded to *multos strenuos doctorum modernos;* and in his commentary on Genesis (117B, 197B) Bede, in contrast to Augustine and Jerome, is described as *doctor modernus*. It is, in short, obvious that by *antiqui* he means the earlier commentators from Origen to Isidore of Seville, while the *moderni* are Bede and those who came after him, especially Alcuin and Hrabanus. Neither of these two is ever mentioned by name as a commentator, although their works were Angelomus' chief standby. Now Hrabanus, in two passages which have been the subject of much discussion (PL 109, 9–10; 281A), alludes to the work of a Jewish scholar which he had consulted. On both occasions he employs the phrase *modernis temporibus*, and it has been generally assumed that the Jew was a near contemporary of Hrabanus'.[3] In view of the evidence from Angelomus this assumption is highly questionable. Even if the author of the pseudo-Hieronymic Quaestiones in libros regum composed his book a century or more before Hrabanus' time, he would still be "modern." Indeed, Hrabanus' language elsewhere bears out Angelomus' antithesis. When speaking (PL 109, 671) of Judith, Tobit, Maccabees, and Wisdom, he remarks on the authority of Jerome that these books *apud antiquos* were not regarded as canonical, but that *moderno tempore* the Holy Church had included them among the Scriptures.

To return to Angelomus' preface: he again explains that his commentary is made up of verbal citations, passages abbreviated from earlier writers, what he had learnt from his teacher, and a little additional material of his own. After a long passage in which he maintains that the words of the Bible can be explained in seven senses, he ends by saying that in the commentary he has expounded the literal, the allegorical, and the moral.[4]

[3] Cf. Wutz, Onomastica Sacra, p. 788: "ein gelehrter Jude der der Zeit des Rabanus Maurus wenig vorangeht." See also S. Katz, The Jews in the Visigothic and Frankish Kingdoms of Spain and Gaul, pp. 69–70, where further references to this controversy will be found. In the ninth century catalogue of Murbach Alcuin is described as *magister modernus*, not Bede. See Hermann Bloch in Strassburger Festschrift zur XLVI Versammlung deutscher Philologen (Strassburg, 1901), p. 269.

[4] This passage has been discussed by H. Caplan in Speculum 4 (1929), pp. 287–288, and by Beryl Smalley, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages[2], pp. 41–42.

The preface to his third work, though long, is less informative. Angelomus compiled his commentary on the Song of Songs from the material that he could garner in the monastic library, and especially from Gregory the Great. In fact much of this preface is either copied directly or adapted from Gregory (PL 79, 473B ff.), including the warning to Lothar, to whom the book is dedicated, that the Song of Songs must be interpreted strictly and solely in an allegorical sense.[5]

The Commentary on Genesis

In this work, which survives in five manuscripts,[6] Angelomus has drawn on a variety of earlier authors. The *moderni* are Alcuin, Hrabanus, and, in the opening chapters, Bede; but, as he calls Bede's book Hexameron and some passages from Bede after the third chapter of Genesis are found also in Alcuin and Hrabanus, it is probable that he knew only the shorter version of Bede's commentary.[7] There are also two substantial quotations (174B–C, 197B) from Bede's De locis sanctis, the one reproducing the amusing story of the emperor Vespasian who, to test its buoyancy, ordered some soldiers who could not swim to have their hands tied and be thrown into the Dead Sea. Of the *antiqui* or older authorities Isidore is represented by his Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum and by a few extracts from the Etymologies.[8] Quotations from Gregory are many and often of considerable length. Angelomus names his author a few times; more often, after expounding the literal meaning of a passage, he continues,

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Angelomus may have borrowed the number seven from Tyconius by way of Augustine, but there is otherwise no similarity between his seven senses and Tyconius'.

[5] The style of the prefaces is verbose and involved. There is a certain fondness for poetic diction and particularly for nautical metaphors (108B, 109D, 331B, 391C–D, 493A–B), which makes one wonder whether Angelomus, before he entered the monastery, grew up on or near the sea-coast. Occasional rare words, like *lampabilis* or *trutinatio* and *exagium* in a figurative sense, may point to his familiarity with the preface to Cassiodorus' Commentary on Psalms (PL 70, 9D) and Cassian's Collations (i, 22, 1; xii, 8, 2).

[6] To the four listed by Manitius must be added MS 744 in the Pierpont Morgan Library; it is a French codex of the twelfth century.

[7] On the two versions cf. Hand-list of Bede MSS, pp. 41–43.

[8] 155A from Et. xi, 3, 13–14; 214C–215C from Et. vii, 7, 5 ff.; 226B from Et. vii, 6, 33–34.

as Hrabanus had occasionally done before him, with the word *moraliter*, and what follows is from Gregory. There are enough passages in Angelomus' works to show that he sometimes consulted his author directly; but in the vast majority of instances both he and Hrabanus used Paterius' collection of extracts. This can be proved in two ways: the citations from Gregory correspond exactly with what is quoted by Paterius, and, besides, both Hrabanus and Paterius have incorporated in their works a long passage, running to five and a half columns in the Patrology which they attribute to Gregory. But, as the modern editors have pointed out, it is not to be found in Gregory's extant works.[9] The Gregory extracts in Angelomus are often identical with those in Hrabanus. Nevertheless Angelomus did use Paterius independently; for he reproduces some quotations (141C, 167C–D, 271C, 285B–C) which are neither in Hrabanus nor in Alcuin, or else he cites a passage in full (e.g., 183B–C) which Hrabanus quotes only in part. Both Jerome and Augustine are mentioned by name several times. The real question, however, is how far Angelomus read these authors for himself, since a great many extracts from them appear also in Hrabanus and some also in Alcuin. It is clear that, as he says, he studied the treatise, De genesi contra Manichaeos and introduced quotations from it into his commentary.[10] He also refers his readers to the fifteenth Book of the City of God. He may have found this reference in Alcuin (PL 100, 529B), but, as his quotation is fuller than Alcuin's, he must have looked up the passage for himself. The long extract (219A–220A), however, which is a combination of Jerome's Quaestiones Hebraicae (PL 23, 985A) and some sentences from Augustine's Quaestiones in Heptateuchum (CSEL 28, ii, 47, 19 ff.) cannot be used to prove that Angelomus knew this Augustinian dissertation at first hand, since his text here is identical with that in Hrabanus. Jerome's Quaestiones Hebraicae were a quarry constantly worked by his successors, so that many of Angelomus' excerpts from that book were no doubt taken from one or other of the *moderni*, usually

[9] PL 107, 574A–579A and 115, 200A–205B, from 79, 704C–709C.

[10] 112D–113A (cf. PL 34, 173); 115C (176–177); 119A (181); 131D (203–204); 132A (ibid.); 145A–B (213); 146A (214).

from Hrabanus.[11] Yet he did go directly to Jerome from time to time.[12] He also quotes from the same writer's commentary on Isaiah, immediately after a citation from the Quaestiones Hebraicae, part of which is also quoted by Bede and Alcuin, and from Jerome's treatises on Hebrew names and on Palestinian geography.[13]

The most interesting of Angelomus' sources, however, is Origen. Baehrens in his exhaustive study of the Latin manuscripts of Origen maintained that Angelomus consulted the homilies on Genesis in Rufinus' version for himself. That is true, but the reasons adduced by Baehrens are quite wrong because he overlooked much of the evidence.[14] Thus, he failed to see the significance of Angelomus' words (158A): "lege Origenem super hac re contra Apellem disputantem," which conclude a long description of the Ark and its interior arrangement. Origen's explanation became classic and underlies the exposition of many later commentators. Some of them mention Origen by name, others do not, but Angelomus alone refers to Origen's heretical opponent. This is a clear indication that he had gone to the original authority; for Origen begins his next paragraph in the Second Homily with the words: "Sed his omnibus tanta arte compositis obiciunt quidam quaestiones et praecipue Apelles."[15] Hrabanus also (PL 107, 515B) quotes Origen on the construction of the Ark, and his manuscript, like Angelomus', had the reading *congrua*, not *contigua*. Yet Baehrens ignored Hrabanus, and, solely on the basis of readings which are also found in the codex Lugdunensis (A) of Origen, used this passage to prove Angelomus' independent use of the Second Homily. He further asserted that Angelomus derived some of the Origen material from Bede, meaning thereby the commentary on the Pentateuch which is not by Bede at all. The quotation that Baehrens argues from is in 189A, but he has failed to observe that the preceding passage (188B–D) is also a

[11] Examples of this are very numerous, so that one instance will suffice: 166A–C, though derived from Jerome, corresponds to Hrabanus in PL 107, 529B–D.

[12] E.g., 119D, just before a quotation from Bede; 141B, 149B, 150A; 169C–D, where Hrabanus follows De civitate dei xvi; 209A–B.

[13] 167B from PL 24, 164A–B; 189C–D from PL 23, 885A–B and 898C.

[14] Texte und Untersuchungen 42 (1920), Heft 1, 76–77.

[15] Die G(riechisch)-C(hristlichen) S(chriftsteller): Origenes VI, 27, 17–18.

quotation from Origen, and that Angelomus reproduces his source more exactly than the pseudo-Bede does. Again, in commenting on Abimelech (190D–191C) Angelomus is closer to Origen's text. He also cites from the Twelfth Homily; and, finally, there is a lengthy extract from the Fourteenth Homily, where Angelomus (210A–211A) is sometimes nearer to the original than pseudo-Bede, and sometimes not. This evidence, which Baehrens has overlooked, is conclusive: Angelomus cites from four homilies, II, V, XII, and XIV, and he and the pseudo-Bede consulted Origen independently.[16]

There remain three passages which call for special comment. Although Angelomus never alludes to Alcuin as a commentator, he once refers to him by name in connection with a reading in Genesis 17, 15. He begins by discussing Sarah's change of name and, like the genuine Bede, Alcuin, Hrabanus, and pseudo-Eucherius, he quotes from Jerome's Quaestiones Hebraicae (PL 23, 964A). He then adds some observations of his own, which deserve to be quoted in full, if only because they seem to have been generally ignored by scholars interested in the so-called Alcuinian recension of the Vulgate:

Unde existimant si ita fuerit, antiquam permansisse consuetudinem in ecclesia, ut Sarra vitio scriptorum unum r additum diceretur; quod et in authenticis libris semper ita scriptum reperies. Hinc est etiam quod Sedul ‹i› uspoeta in carmine paschali (I, 107) ait:

Saucia iam vetulae marcebant viscera Sarae.

At vero nonnulli Sarai, sicut in vetustissimis invenies tomis, non tantum Sari pronuntiare contendunt, et addita littera e, quae per a legitur, postmodum Saraam nominatam autumant; quia inquiunt, sicut Abrahae una littera, ita Sarae est altera addita, prout supra ostenditur. Unde siquidem ferunt quod pater Albinus in bibliotheca quam Carolo principi

[16] The commentary on the Pentateuch is not a genuine work by Bede, for its author sometimes copies Hrabanus. Thus the early part of his thirtieth chapter is an abbreviated version of PL 107, 600A–601B, while the beginning of chapter 26 opens with the middle of a sentence in a passage in Hrabanus (585B–586C). The earliest manuscript of the commentary known to me is Brussels 1354, written in the tenth century. The Lorsch manuscript of the later ninth century (Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 159), which Coxe's catalogue describes as Beda in Octateuchum, does not contain it; for this codex is made up of some material apparently derived from Augustine, Book 1 only of Bede's commentary on Genesis, and then Wigbod's Collectaneum; on this last cf. Harv. Theol. Rev. 40 (1947), p. 30 with note 27.

correxit, quod nos etiam oculis diligenter inibi inspeximus, emendare curavit, videlicet sine uno r Saraam et duo a; et in nostris quibusdam voluminibus ita legitur, quod et nos similiter legendum putamus.[17]

One could wish that our author had been more explicit. From what he says it would seem that he had at some time or other visited Aachen, where he had examined a Bible copied and corrected for Charlemagne under Alcuin's direction. Furthermore, we learn that Luxeuil possessed one or more Bibles of the Alcuinian recension. The accepted reading in the new edition of the Vulgate sponsored by the Vatican authorities is "Sarai uxorem tuam non vocabis Sarai sed Sarram"; but there still exist many manuscripts, some of early date, which give Saraam not Sarram.[18]

The mysterious figure of Melchisedech (Genesis 14, 18) stimulated Angelomus to comment at some length. At the end he refers his readers to Jerome and Isidore, though much of what he had put down himself corresponds closely to Alcuin's observations on the same subject. The priest-king had long since attracted the attention of the Fathers in connection with Psalms 110, 4 and Hebrews 7, 3. He had, on the one hand, inspired a heresy, and, on the other, had been interpreted as a prototype of Christ and been used by Christian expositors in their anti-Jewish polemic.[19] But the main interest of Angelomus centred in the name. After quoting Hebrews 7, 3, he introduces a Jewish tradition which he had found "in cuiusdam (v. l. "quodam") vetusto volumine," to the effect that Melchisedech's father was named Melchi and his mother Sedech; and that, as he was a posthumous child and his

[17] 160C–D. For *bibliotheca* in the sense of Bible or one or other of the two Testaments see Thesaurus, s.v. The usage is first found in Jerome; to the examples in the Thesaurus should be added the Latin Acts of Pilate (Tischendorf, Evang. Apocr., p. 409), where the *magna bibliotheca* must mean the Law and the Prophets. We have it on the authority of Alcuin (MGH: Poetae I, p. 283, no. lxv) that by his time the word had come into general use, though he himself favored the older *Pandecte*, which had already been employed by Cassiodorus (Inst., ed. Mynors, 37, 20 et al.). It is also found in library catalogues of the ninth century; cf. Becker, Cat. bibl. ant. 11, 1 (St. Riquier) and Lehmann, Mittelalt. Bibliothekskat. I, p. 71, 35 (St. Gall).

[18] E.g. the Theodulfus Bible (Paris, B. N. 9380; saec. viii–ix) and a Tours Bible (Paris, B. N. 11514) which Rand has placed in his class IVB (A.D. 800–820). The corrector of the Maurdramnus Bible (Amiens 6–11; saec. viii ^{2}) also favored Saraam.

[19] See the admirable article, "Melchisédech dans la polémique entre juifs et chrétiens et dans la légende" by Marcel Simon in Rev. d'hist. et de philos. religieuses 17 (1937), pp. 58–93.

mother died in childbirth, he was called Melchisedech after his two dead parents. The Latin commentators, following Jerome, knew the correct meaning of Melchisedech as *rex iustus* perfectly well; and the variant explanation discovered by Angelomus in an old book finds no place in their exegesis. But in the Syriac version of the Book of Adam and Eve Melchisedech's father is named Melchi and his mother Yo-Sedek; while in the short historia de Melchisedech, wrongly ascribed to Athanasius, the parents are called respectively Melchi and Salem.[20] Thus there is "authority" for this etymological oddity which must have found its way into some Western, that is, Latin, source now lost, and one wonders whether it could have been the first of the *homiliae mixtae* by Origen to which Jerome refers (Ep. 33). The manner in which Angelomus specifies his source is almost identical, as we shall see, with that in which he quotes from the Quaestiones in libros regum by an unidentified Jewish writer; and it is very likely that no author's name was attached to the treatise in the "old book."

The extended commentary on Genesis 49 (232D–242C) reproduces the De benedictionibus patriarcharum, a tract which was probably compiled by Isidore (cf. Pl 83, 276C–288A) who seems to have used Rufinus' longer treatise with the same name. Isidore's version reappears with occasional modifications in Alcuin, Hrabanus, pseudo-Bede, pseudo-Eucherius, and our author, whose text is sometimes nearest to Alcuin's, sometimes to Hrabanus'.[21]

The Commentary on Samuel and Kings

In this commentary which, to judge by the number of extant manuscripts,[22] became the most popular of Angelomus' books, he is more reticent about his authorities. There are, it is true, four

[20] I owe this information and the following references to the kindness of Professor Harry Wolfson of Harvard University. Cf. Carl Bezold (ed.), Me 'arat Gazo, p. 116, 11, 4–5, and id., Die Schatzhöhle, pp. 27–28; pseudo-Athanasius in PG 28, 525A.

[21] E.g., in 233C Aneglomus includes a sentence from Hrabanus that is missing in Alcuin, but in 235A the Hebrew etymology is from Alcuin. Hrabanus omits it.

[22] Manitius lists eight. To these should be added MS 92 in Trinity College, Cambridge (Christ Church, Canterbury; saec. xii), Angers 41 (St. Aubin, saec. xii) and Angers 42 (St. Serge, saec. xii). See M. R. James, The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover, pp. 21 and 506; L. W. Jones, Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand, p. 144, note 11, and p. 151.

references to Gregory, two to Augustine, and two to Jerome; but, beyond the general statement that he had consulted "modern" writers (330D), there is no hint of the true state of affairs.[23] This is, that between two-thirds and three-quarters of this long commentary is copied almost word for word from Bede and from Hrabanus! Just as in the commentary on Genesis Angelomus at first worked with a good deal of independence and introduced what appear to be his own observations, while the later chapters are little more than a cento of excerpts from Alcuin and Hrabanus, so, in expounding Samuel and Kings, he began by combining various sources with some skill, but from the beginning of chapter 5 of his third Book to the end of Book 4 he copies Bede-Hrabanus with scarcely any change.[24] The works of Bede more or less incorporated in the commentary are Quaestiones XXX, De templo Salomonis, and Quaestio 8 in the Aliquot quaestionum liber, but Hrabanus had already followed the same procedure.[25] The question thus arises whether Angelomus knew any of these works by Bede at first hand. Quaestio 8 of the Aliquot quaestionum liber he seems to have copied from Hrabanus; for where there are slight divergences from the printed text of Bede it is with Hrabanus' text that he agrees. He also made small alterations, presumably for greater simplicity, as when he changes *enucleatius* in Bede and Hrabanus to *manifestius*. In De templo the occasional cuts made by Hrabanus reappear in the text of Angelomus, and the only passage which might suggest that Angelomus had inspected Bede's treatise for himself is a Virgil citation followed by ten words of

[23] Gregory: 273C, 305A, 334B, 351C; Augustine: 306D, copied from Hrabanus, 328D; Jerome: 348A ("noster interpres in tribus linguis peritus") and 393C. Jerome's treatise on Hebrew names was used in 347B and 383C.

[24] 404D–550C. The only exceptions are two short pieces of allegorical interpretation (453A–B and 469C–D) which I have failed to trace elsewhere, and a brief addition in 473A–B. These may well be Angelomus' own contribution!

[25] It has not been generally recognized that Hrabanus "lifted" the whole of De templo Salomonis for his own commentary. In their catalogue for 1947 the Rosenbach Company of Philadelphia and New York (Item 492) announced a manuscript written in France in the later twelfth century, which they described as follows: "De templo has been incorporated chronologically into Rhabanus Maurus' Commentary on Kings and as here written forms an integral part of the third book of the latter work." Clearly this codex, so far from being unusual, is a normal manuscript of Hrabanus' commentary. For the Aliquot quaestionum liber cf. Paul Lehmann, Munich SB. 1919, Heft 4, and Heinrich Weissweiler, Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters XXXIII, Fasc. 1–2 (1936), 54 ff.

explanation (411C). Both the couplet and what follows are missing in the printed text of Hrabanus; but in view of the shockingly faulty texts of all three authors in Migne's Patrology, it would be unsafe to draw any conclusions from this discrepancy.[26] Quaestiones XXX, however, Angelomus consulted independently, for example, in 277B and 278A, where he copies twenty-five lines from Bede, which Hrabanus has left out. Both commentators relied heavily on Isidore's Quaestiones and on Paterius; but again Angelomus' independent use is demonstrated by quotations which are missing in Hrabanus.[27] The classic authority on the Witch of Endor was Augustine who composed a short dissertation on this subject for Simplicianus. It is therefore not surprising to find it quoted in full by Isidore, Hrabanus, Claudius of Turin, pseudo-Eucherius, and our author; but Angelomus alone adds to it a few lines taken from Bede's commentary on Acts.[28] Book III opens with a long quotation (393C–394B) from Jerome's letter to Nepotian (Ep. 52). Hrabanus copied much from the same source, but the section describing the old age of Cato, Plato, and Isocrates is reproduced only by Angelomus, a clear proof that he had read Jerome's letter for himself. The most unusual source, however, is the short commentary by the unknown Jewish scholar to whom we have already referred. Here too Angelomus worked independently of Hrabanus; for, though many quotations from the Quaestiones in libros regum are common to both, Angelomus added many others which his predecessor disregarded.[29] But, like Hrabanus, he introduces these extracts with phrases that are tantalisingly vague: "ut legi in cuiusdam disputatione," "prout in quodam volumine legi," "unde in Hebraeo ita habetur." As he does not quote from this source in the opening chapters of Book III, it is possible that his manuscript of the Quaestiones belonged to the class which lacks this book.

[26] At 430D Angelomus agrees with Hrabanus against Bede's slightly different wording. The occasional cuts made by Hrabanus in Bede's text are uniformly passages of allegorical interpretation. Pseudo-Eucherius also incorporated De templo in his commentary and he retained the parts which Hrabanus, and following him Angelomus, excised. But see Note at the end of this article.

[27] E.g., 271C (PL 79, 789D–791A) and 285B–C (ib. 791B); 290A–B (PL 83, 396D–397A), 363B–C (ib. 412A–B), 396A (ib. 413D–414D).

[28] 328D–330C; cf. PL 40, 101 ff.; Bede on Acts (ed. Laistner), p. 63, 24–28.

[29] E.g., 287A, where Angelomus inserts six lines from the Jew between two passages taken from Bede, 301B–C, 310D–311A, 332B, 339B.

From what has been said it will be apparent that the material which Angelomus owed to the oral teaching of Mellinus — save insofar as Mellinus reproduced what he had gleaned from books in the library — and what he added himself amounts to very little. There are a few passages which it has been impossible to identify, but the only one of any length and interest is an excursus on various heresies of the Later Roman Empire. It forms part of Angelomus' comment on I Samuel, 13, 19–20 (297C–299D), because the Philistines prefigure the heretics: "Philistim, quorum ingens numerus esse perhibetur, omnium haereticorum magistros figurasse non dubium est." As a general guide for this disquisition he may well have turned to the chapter on heresies in the Etymologies (viii, 5) of Isidore.

The Commentary on the Song of Songs

This book is virtually compiled from four authors, Gregory, Aponius, Alcuin, and Justus of Urgel; and, apart from the verbose remarks addressed to Lothar I,[30] there is little or nothing of Angelomus' own. He quotes a couplet from Sedulius and adds two excerpts from Isidore, as well as a little material from Jerome.[31] His main sources call for brief comment, since all four have been the subject of controversy in modern times. The authorship of the commentary on the Song of Songs printed among Gregory's works was long a matter of dispute; but it has now been established that this book is made up of two genuine homilies on Cant. Cant. 1, 1–8 followed by the compilation of Robert of St. Vigor (late 11th century).[32] Again, the authenticity of Alcuin's Compendium in Cantica Canticorum (PL 100, 642–664), on which earlier editors had thrown doubt, was rightly defended by Froben

[30] 577A–C and 627D–628D. The second passage contains the story that Theodosius II copied out Priscian with his own hand and is found also in Aldhelm's De metris. The tale arose out of a confusion between Theodorus of the imperial chancellery and the emperor. Cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. IV, ii, 230, Keil, Gramm. lat. II, viii, and Aldhelm in MGH: Auct. ant. XV, 203, 22 ff. Ehwald assumes that Angelomus copied from Aldhelm, but both may have copied a common source now lost.

[31] 562B from Carmen paschale I, 335–336; 538A–B from Isidore, Et. xvii, 8, 4; 623C from Et. xvii, 9, 30; for Jerome see below.

[32] See B. Capelle in Revue bénédictine 41 (1929), pp. 204–217. Among the MSS. of the two Gregorian homilies listed by Capelle are several that were copied in the ninth century.

on general grounds of style. His arguments are corroborated by the fact that the compendium appears among the works of Alcuin in the catalogue of Reichenau within less than a generation of his death, and later in the ninth century it is attributed to Alcuin in the catalogue of Lorsch. A shorter version of the compendium, in which the commentary on chapters 1–4 is much abbreviated, has been printed among the works of Isidore and it was apparently a manuscript of this version which Angelomus used.[33]

The brief exposition by Justus of Urgel, which appears to have passed into oblivion during the later Middle Ages, enjoyed a certain popularity in the ninth century when there were copies of it at St. Riquier, Reichenau, St. Gall (now Sangall. 110), and Murbach; and there is no valid reason for doubting Justus' authorship.[34] It has long been known that Angelomus consulted the elaborate commentary composed by Aponius probably near the beginning of the fifth century; but only the first editor, Johannes Faber, seems to have realized fully the extent of Angelomus' debt to his predecessor. Faber saw that the text of Angelomus might be used as a check on his faulty manuscript of Aponius, but neither the more recent editors nor Witte in his monograph have appreciated the importance of Angelomus.[35]

[33] The manuscript of the shorter version collated by Froben is now Cod. Reg. Christ. 69 (saec. ix-x) in the Vatican Library. See A. Wilmart, Codd. lat. regin. I, p. 153: "Alcuini in Cant. Cant. compendium immo de cap. I–IV magis contractum; quae sub forma Isidori iam impressa est" (PL 83, 1119–1132). Although it is not assigned to Alcuin in this manuscript, it is included in a collection of Alcuin's letters.

[34] Several early manuscripts survive. One, an uncial codex (saec. viii med.) in the Vallicelliana at Rome, was probably copied in France. E. A. Lowe in C(odices) L(atini) A(ntiquiores) IV, No. 433 says of it: "Written north of the Alps in a fine centre of calligraphy," but the manuscripts with which he compares it are from N. or N. E. France. Schanz, op. cit. IV, ii, 95, and Manitius, op. cit. I, p. 50, disputed the attribution and proposed to assign the pseudo-Cassiodorus commentary to Justus. Neither offered any proof. Moreover, on p. 359, note 3 Manitius referred to the commentary by Justus, meaning the work printed under Justus' name, and Krüger on pp. 629–630 of Schanz's book did the same! *Delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi!* The pseudo-Cassiodorus commentary has recently been attributed to Isidore by Vega in La ciudad de Dios 154 (1942), 143 ff., but I have not seen this article.

[35] I have used the reprint of Faber's edition in M. de la Bigne, Sacra Bibliotheca SS. Patrum (ed. 2: Paris, 1589) I, pp. 763 ff. The only complete text of Aponius in print is that by H. Bottino and J. Martini (Rome, 1843), and the references to Aponius given below are to the pages of that edition. It is, however, very faulty. J. Witte, Der Kommentar des Aponius zum Hohenliede (Diss. Erlangen, 1903),

We are now in the position to analyze the sources used by Angelomus. The prefatory letter contains a long quotation from Gregory (PL 79, 473B–C). For his Introduction Angelomus has drawn on two works by Jerome, the preface to the commentary on Ecclesiastes and the preface to his translation of Kings. He may well have been familiar also with Alcuin's commentary on Ecclesiastes, which in fact is little more than a repetition of Jerome. But, although Angelomus does not copy Jerome as sedulously as Alcuin does, his text here and there reproduces the text of Jerome more closely; and an extant manuscript of Jerome's exposition was copied in the eighth century in the type of minuscule commonly called the Luxeuil script.[36] There are also two long quotations from Aponius in the Introduction and one from Gregory.[37] The commentary itself, as far as the sources are concerned falls into three parts. From 562C to 577A Angelomus copies Gregory's two homilies almost word for word, adding a sentence from Alcuin at the end of 562C and two substantial excerpts from Aponius.[38] The second section begins where the genuine Gregory ends and extends to 607A. Most of this is from Aponius, but Angelomus has shortened his authority a good deal. He also has changed the order here and there and occasionally paraphrases Aponius instead of giving his exact words. In addition, there is

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pp. 5–6, is critical, but is himself far from impeccable. He finds some parallels (p. 85) between Aponius and Ambrose, meaning by Ambrose the pseudo-Ambrosian compilation (PL 15, 1851 ff.) which in fact was put together by William of St. Thierry in the twelfth century. His comparison between a passage in Aponius and one in Gregory on Cant. Cant. 8, 2, is no less unfortunate, since that part of "Gregory" is by Robert of St. Vigor. As we shall see, Witte also underrated the extent to which Angelomus copied from Aponius.

[36] This manuscript is now in the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Paul in Carinthia (25.2.36). Angelomus retains Jerome's subjunctives and the verb *nuncupare*, whereas Alcuin changes the subjunctives to the indicative and *nuncupare* to *appellare*. Jerome and Angelomus also read *per sententias* for which the printed text of Alcuin has *praesentibus*, but this may be a corrupt reading. So, too, Angelomus took the Hebrew titles of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs from Jerome's preface to Kings (cf. Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem 5 [Rome, 1944], p. 7), not from Isidore, Et. vi, 1, 7, as he retains Jerome's *praenotant*. Hrabanus, De inst. cler. 3, 7 (ed. Knöpfler, p. 200), copies Isidore.

[37] 558A–560A from Aponius 5–7 and 561C–562A from Aponius 3–4; 561B–C from PL 79, 561B–C.

[38] 562D–563B from Aponius 10, and 566C–568B greatly abbreviated from Aponius 10–15.

in this section a good sprinkling of extracts from Alcuin and from Gregory-Paterius.[39] For the third section, from Cant. Cant. 4, 3 to the end, Aponius' help evidently was no longer available; that is, as Witte had already observed, since Angelomus did not copy from Books VII to XII of Aponius' commentary, his manuscript of that author belonged to that class of manuscripts which contains only the first six Books. At any rate, the third section is much briefer. It is little more than a conflation of Alcuin and Justus, whose exposition is at first paraphrased and later is quoted without acknowledgment *verbatim*. Usually Angelomus gives two interpretations of a verse, Alcuin's and then another, often introduced by *aliter* or *item*, taken from Justus. Here and there, as in the previous sections, he has also woven some quotations from Gregory-Paterius into the texture of his discourse. It thus becomes apparent that, when Witte quoted four passages from Aponius in Angelomus' commentary and further observed that there were in it a good number of other citations from the fifth-century author, he was guilty of serious understatement. A rough calculation shows that out of a total of seventy-seven columns in the Patrologia Latina no less than twenty-six are derived from Aponius and from Gregory about eighteen. Angelomus once (559A) alludes to Aponius by name, a fact which Witte seems to have overlooked. Later, at the beginning of Cant. Cant., chapter 2 (586D), Angelomus introduces what follows with the words: "dicamus uberius beati Ambrosii dicta ponentes"; but the quotation is not from Ambrose, but from Aponius, 57 ff. Is Ambrosius an error in the printed text or in the manuscript from which it was taken, as the citation does not appear to be in the works of Ambrose? It may be objected that Angelomus would be unlikely to refer to Aponius as *beatus*. The riddle must remain unsolved, but at least it is certain that Angelomus copied the whole paragraph from Aponius. A final point is worth noting. Angelomus did not have access to Bede's long commentary on the Song of Songs, but Alcuin did. The verbal parallels between Bede and Angelomus are found in the quotations which Angelomus copied from Alcuin's

[39] From Alcuin: 580D, 581A, 585D, 589C, 591C, 599C; from Gregory-Paterius: 594C, 603A, 604D–606A.

compendium. One must also bear in mind that all three commentators were heavily indebted to Gregory the Great.[40]

The Library at Luxeuil in the Ninth Century

Angelomus, as we have seen, on several occasions alludes to his monastic library. No medieval catalogue is known to survive, but during the French Revolution an inventory of it was compiled. By that time the collection had shrunk to "thirty-three manuscripts and a few others," and a good many of these can still be identified.[41] Even if the number of earlier authors consulted by Angelomus was modest compared with the numerous predecessors quoted or paraphrased by Bede or Hrabanus, it was still respectable; and this evidence may be of some value to any palaeographer who may hereafter attempt a study of the scriptorium and library at Luxeuil. Unhappily the existing palaeographical evidence is not conclusive. A dozen or more codices of the late seventh or early eighth century survive, written either in late uncials or in a variety of Merovingian minuscule to which the name, Luxeuil script, has long been assigned. Yet it is not certain that Luxeuil itself was the centre in which any or all of these manuscripts originated, though the *Schriftheimat* of all appears to have been in E. or N. E. France.[42] By the ninth century some of these manuscripts had travelled far, but the exemplars were still presumably in the scriptoria where the extant copies had been made. Several contain works of Gregory

[40] Cf. Bernhard Bischoff in his valuable article on John of Mantua (Festschrift für Walter Goetz zum 80. Geburtstag [Marburg, 1948], p. 27): "Da die homiletische Auslegung Gregors des Grossen nur für Kap. 1, 1–8 erhalten geblieben war, wurde für die lateinischen Erklärer des Frühmittelalters Beda die beherrschende Autorität."

[41] See Leclercq in Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie IX, ii, 2780–2781. Mr. Leslie Webber Jones in his article on three Luxeuil manuscripts and another now at Oxford (Bulletin of the J. Rylands Library 23 [1939], 3–18) overlooked this inventory, since he remarks (p. 4): "We may be sure, then, that all four manuscripts were present at Luxeuil at the beginning of the eighteenth century." The manuscripts that he analyzes are Nos. 4, 11, 14, and 7 in Leclercq's description of surviving manuscripts.

[42] See E. A. Lowe, CLA I, nos. 92–94 and 106; II, 163 and 173; III, 300; IV, 497; V, 548, 579, 614, and note particularly Dr. Lowe's remarks on V, 579 (Paris, B.N. 9427). The homiliary collated by Morin and described by him as *litteris typi luxoviensis exaratus* (S. Caesarii opera I, lxxxix), which was formerly Ashburnham Barrois 57, is now MS 17 in the Pierpont Morgan Library. See De Ricci and Wilson, Census II, p. 1368.

the Great and one was made up of extracts from the Fathers.[43] Many of the treatises and commentaries which Angelomus had at his elbow were, as the surviving catalogues show, commonly to be found in the larger libraries of E. or N. E. France and of Alemannia. That inter-library loans, even if sometimes attended by difficulties, were not unusual, is known from the correspondence of Servatus Lupus. Since Corbie was founded from Luxeuil, one might expect continued contact between the two houses and their libraries; and, although no catalogue of Corbie earlier than the eleventh century has been preserved, the number of extant manuscripts copied in the eighth and ninth centuries in its scriptorium is large. Nevertheless, some of the rarer works consulted by Angelomus suggest that the librarians of one or two collections geographically nearer to Luxeuil, particularly the chapter library in Rheims and the library in Murbach abbey, may have borrowed manuscripts from Luxeuil in order to have copies made for their own use. Thus, among extant manuscripts from Rheims is one donated by Hincmar, and its contents arouse curiosity; for there, together in one codex are pseudo-Jerome on Kings, Bede's Quaestiones XXX, and Gregory's two homilies on the Song of Songs, together with several other works by different authors. As the three works named were all at Luxeuil in Angelomus' time, one is tempted to assume that the librarian in Rheims had borrowed his exemplars from Luxeuil.[44] A codex from Murbach, now MS 78 in the municipal library at Épinal and copied about the middle of the ninth century, contains Jerome on Ecclesiastes, his translation of two of Origen's homilies on the Song of Songs, and the first six books of Aponius.[45] Bottino and Martini did not use this manuscript for their edition, in spite of its early date. The rarity of the commentary in the ninth century — there was also at the

[43] Cf. CLA V, 548. The illustration shows the beginning of a series of excerpts from Gregory: "Excarpsum ex libro beati Gregorii papae in Hiezechel propheta." This is the kind of selection, other than that of Paterius, to which Angelomus might well have had recourse.

[44] For Rheims 118 see Catalogue général 38, 109 ff. and especially F. M. Carey in Studies in Honor of E. K. Rand, pp. 52–53. Mr. Carey assigns it with a number of other manuscripts to the period 845–882.

[45] Cf. Baehrens, op. cit., pp. 160–161; Cat. gén. (in quarto) 3, p. 431. The writer of the catalogue says "Apponius super totum librum eiusdem" but the explicit is not that of Book XII, but of Book VI.

same date a codex at Lorsch which seems to have disappeared — makes the conclusion almost irresistible that the exemplar of the Murbach Aponius was the manuscript used by Angelomus at Luxeuil. So too with Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes. The extant codex of it which is now in St. Paul in Carinthia is written in the so-called Luxeuil script. A comparison of its text with the text in Épinal 78 would probably settle the question whether the one is the exemplar of the other. Finally, a perusal of the Murbach catalogue leads one to wonder whether it is pure accident that that library owned copies of nearly all the works consulted or copied by Angelomus.[46] At least it may be suggested that further study of the scriptoria and libraries at Rheims and Murbach may at the same time throw some much needed light on the books at Luxeuil during the Carolingian Age.

* * * * *

Note on the pseudo-Eucherius

This essay was already in proof when there came to my attention the important article, "Claudio de Turín, autor de los comentarios 'In genesim et regum' del Pseudo Euquerio" by Dom Bellet in Estudios Bíblicos 9 (Madrid, 1950), pp. 209–223. The authorship of the two commentaries wrongly ascribed to Eucherius of Lyons (PL 50, 893–1208) has long been a problem. The opening chapters of the Genesis commentary in a variant version were published by Carl Wotke in 1897 from Augiensis CXCI, and this publication was used by Baehrens (op. cit. 77 and 205). Dom Bellet has now shown that this version, which explains only Genesis i–iv, 1, survives also in MS Autun 27 (saec. viii) and MS Hague 130 E 15 (saec. ix–x). It was in fact Claudius of Turin's first attempt to compile a *collectaneum* on Genesis. Somewhat later Claudius put together a fuller commentary on the whole of Genesis. This survives in MS Paris 9575 copied in 811, as well as in MS Vienna 69 (saec. xii, Heiligenkreuz), the codex from which Brassicanus published his *editio princeps* at Basel in 1531. Clearly Dom Bellet has not himself seen the manuscript at Karlsruhe, since, like Wotke and Baehrens, he assigns it to the tenth century. I am deeply indebted to the director of the manuscript section in the Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe, Dr. K. Hannemann, who, in answer to my inquiries, kindly sent me a detailed description of Aug. CXCI which amplifies the information

[46] Cf. Bloch, op. cit., pp. 262–273.

in the printed catalogue. The present codex is made up of two distinct manuscripts which were only bound together in the fifteenth century. The former (Aug. CXCI, foll. 2r–116r) was correctly dated by Holder saec. viii/ix and contains Quaestiunculae on the Gospels collected from various fathers. The second manuscript (foll. 117r–150v) begins with the text printed by Wotke (foll. 117r–131v), which is introduced, as in the Autun manuscript, by the phrase, "Isidori Iunioris expositionum sententias intexuimus." This second part of the present codex on palaeographical grounds may be assigned provisionally to the period 825–840 and may be a product of the Reichenau scriptorium. But, as Dr. Hannemann has rightly pointed out, certainty regarding both date and *Schriftheimat* will only be attainable after a comprehensive study of the writing-school in Reichenau has been made by a competent scholar. Dom Bellet further points out that the commentary on Samuel and Kings by Claudius of Turin is to be found in MS Pistoia 51 and MS Mantua C.V.2, both of the eleventh century. The commentary going under the name of Eucherius is in fact the commentary by Claudius with the addition of Bede's De templo Salomonis. This conflation survives in the same manuscript at Vienna which contains Claudius' second and enlarged commentary on Genesis.

I can find no evidence that Angelomus used Claudius' exposition of Samuel and Kings. But in the opening chapters of his commentary on Genesis (cf. PL 115, 127B, 129B, 135A–C) there are occasional comments where, in spite of verbal differences, the correspondence between Angelomus and 'pseudo-Eucherius' is rather close. It is therefore possible that Angelomus had access to the earlier version by Claudius of Turin.

THE CROWN OF THORNS

The Rev. H. St. J. Hart has recently put forward the interesting suggestion that the crown of thorns in John 19, 2–5, was made from the long thorns (modified leaflets) that grow on the base of the *rachis*, or axis, of the date-palm frond.[1] Such a crown, with its tall spines projecting upward from a headband, was intended as a caricature of the radiate crown worn, in numismatic and other representations, by kings and emperors of Hellenistic and Roman times. In the narrative of John it was not an instrument of torture, but merely a "property" used in mockery of Jesus' pretension to be King of the Jews. Mr. Hart provides two excellent plates, which show the radiate crown as it appears on coin types, and also two improvised radiate crowns, one made from the leaflets, the other from the thorns of the date-palm.

Mr. Hart has made no use of a passage which, I think, reinforces his suggestion, namely Apuleius Metam. 11, 24 (almost the middle, Oudendorp's p. 805).

At manu dextera gerebam flammis adultam facem et caput decore corona cinxerat palmae candidae foliis in modum radiorum prosistentibus. Sic ad instar Solis exornato me et in vicem simulacri constituto, repente velis reductis, in aspectum populus errabat.

Apuleius is here describing the culminating moment of Lucius' initiation into the mysteries of Isis, the carefully planned scene in which the neophyte, in the likeness of the Sun God, is revealed to a throng of admiring devotees. His crown may have resembled that constructed by Mr. Hart and shown on his Plate II, Fig. 9, where the long, narrow leaflets of the palm are fixed in a headband, apparently made of the same material. In contrast, the ribald soldiers would have fixed on Jesus' head a crown of palm-spines, like that in Fig. 10, mocking not only their victim but also the blind followers who would treat him as a rival to the sovereignty of the divine emperor.

The Rev. E. R. Smothers has reminded me that certain popular customs resembling the Babylonian festival of the Sakaia (cf. Dio Chr. Or. 4, 67) have been brought into comparison with the mocking of Jesus. A slave, or some other lowly person, was dressed in the trappings of royalty, allowed royal privileges for a brief time, and then driven away harshly or else beaten or even killed. It must suffice here to refer to the discussions by Wendland (Jesus als Saturnalienkönig, Hermes 33 [1898], 175–179); Frazer, G. B.,[3] IX (The Scapegoat), 412–423; S. Reinach,

[1] Jour. Theol. Stud., N.S. 3, 66–75.

Cultes, Mythes, et Religions, I, 332–341 (Le roi supplicié); and Lagrange, Évang. selon Saint Marc,[5] 420–423. All these writers give special attention to Philo, *in Flaccum*, 36–40 (cited also by Mr. Hart, p. 68, n. 1), a passage in which the author tells how the Alexandrian Jews paraded a poor imbecile as a mock king in order to vent their hatred and contempt for King Agrippa, who was visiting their city. For the present purpose the important residuum of these discussions is, that — putting aside questions of origin — mockery, not torture, was the immediate aim of such rude ceremonies. To that extent they strengthen the theory of Mr. Hart.

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A GRECO-CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION FROM AILA

Professor N. Glueck has discovered a good deal of evidence for the existence of a large Byzantine settlement at Aila on the Gulf of 'Aqabah. Some fragments of a marble screening belong to the remnants of a Byzantine church, which now lies hidden underneath the gardens on the shore of the gulf.[1] Two Byzantine capitals which can now be seen in the police-station of 'Aqabah also seem to belong to a Byzantine church of Aila.[2] On the one, St. Theodore is represented in relief in his full armor and above him ΘΕΟΔΩΡ can be read. The other represents a saint, also in his full armor with breast-plate, shield, and spear, and above him the letters ΟΓΓΙΝϹ can be recognized.[3] Professor Willoughby emphasizes that the martial character of the saints and of the archangels who are seen on the capitals is a sign of the military assistance of which this outlying frontier-post of Byzantine Christianity and the Empire stood in need.

A further Christian monument with an inscription was found in the same region by Professor Glueck.[4] The material is grey sandstone, evidently of local provenience. The lower right-hand corner of the stone is intact up to the level of the last line but one; parts are missing a little further up on the right, on the left, and on the top. Its front is covered with red paint; its height is 17 cm., the width 19 cm., and its depth 5.5 cm. The height of the letters is 1.5–2 cm. The inscription is so arranged on what has been preserved of the stone that it is enclosed in a frame marked by a line, leaving a margin of 2 cm. at the bottom and one of 1.5 cm. on the right-hand side. On the area covered by the inscription, the following can be read:

[Ἰ (ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς (?) ἐ]λ[έησ-]	Jesus Christ, have pity
[ον] τ̣ὴν ψυχ[ὴν το-]	on the soul of
[ῦ δ]ούλο[υ σο-]	Thy slave
⁻[ῦ] Ὀσεδου ὃ[ς]	Osedos who
ἀν[ε]π(άη) ἐν μ(ηνὶ) Ἀ-	went to his rest in the month of
[ρ]τ(εμισίου) κε′ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) γ′	Artemisios, on the 25th of Indic-
ἔτ(ους) νν′.	tio 3 of the year 450.

[1] Cf. AASOR, vol. XV, p. 47 and vols. XVIII–XIX (1937–39) Explorations in Eastern Palestine III by Nelson Glueck, pp. 1 sq., cf. BASOR, no. 65, p. 12.

[2] Cf. Glueck, AASOR, XVIII–XIX, ibid., pp. 1 sq.; also the photograph figs. 1 and 2.

[3] See the interpretation of the relief and of the inscriptions by Professor H. R. Willoughby, which Professor Glueck prints ibid., pp. 1–3. Of the missing Λ a remnant of the right hasta seems to me to be visible on the photograph; after N we find the Byzantine siglum ϛ. We can thus read Λ̣ογγῖν(ος). Contrary to Professor Willoughby, I consider this reading as certain.

[4] Professor Glueck has been kind enough to leave the publication of the inscription to me.

In filling the gaps in the lines we have to take into consideration the fact that the mason writes the letters in different widths in different lines. The last line contains 14 units — letters as well as abbreviation marks. The frequency of the latter and the only ligature of the inscription at the end of the line prove that the space which remained for the mason was very small. We can see the approximate length of the line by completing the name of the month at the end of l. 5 and the beginning of l. 6: 'A|[P]TS and we thus gain the approximate width of the stone before it was broken too. Not much can be missing from the top; the formula at the beginning of the inscription, which can be restored with a considerable degree of certainty, proves that this is the first line of the inscription. If we assume a margin on top corresponding to the one at the bottom, the inscription must have been about 20 cm. in width and approximately the same in height.

l. 1–2: As the words *ψυχ[ήν]* in l. 2 and *δ]ούλο[υ* in l. 3 are certain, the Λ of l. 1 can only be completed to *φύ]λ[αξον]* or *ἐ]λ[έησον]*. Of the formulae containing *ψυχήν* prevalent in Egypt, the most frequently found runs: *ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου (τῆς δούλης) σοῦ*.[5] It occurs in a very great number of inscriptions. Yet that is impossible in this case. The formulae found in Egypt[6] give us some examples for our reconstruction: Lefèbvre no. 67 (from Old Cairo)[7]: *κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐλέησον τὴν ψυχ⟨ὴ⟩ν τοῦ δούλου σοῦ*; Lefèbvre no. 515 (from Herment?) has as the final formula of a funerary inscription: *Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς βοήθησον καὶ ἐλέησον τὸ πν(εῦμ)α* (instead of *ψυχήν*) *αὐτῆς*; ibid., no. 658 (from Nubia?): *Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ὲ ἐλεος* (sic. The meaning is presumably *ἐλέησον*) *αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν δούλην σοῦ κτλ.*; ibid., no. 661 (from Nubia? of 699 A.D.): *οἰκτοίρισον καὶ ἐλέησον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτῆς κτλ.* (final formula); ibid., no. 663 (from Nubia?): *[ἀ]νάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ δούλῃ σοῦ Θεοδότῃ τῆς μακαρίας, ἐλέησον αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου.* Only two examples for *φύλαξον* are found in Lefèbvre.[8] Not a single example for our formula occurs in the two great

[5] Cf. Lefèbvre, Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte, p. XXX.

[6] Cf. Lefèbvre, ibid., p. XXX. But the information he gives about the formula *ἐλέησον τὴν ψυχήν* is incomplete.

[7] I give the names of the places where the inscriptions were found wherever possible, in order to enable us to draw conclusions, if feasible, from the occurrence of the formula about connections between Christian communities.

[8] No. 233: *φύλαξ[ον] τὸν δοῦλόν σου.* It is not certain whether we are dealing with a funerary inscription here; no. 234; *Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸ)ς φύλαξ(ον) τὸν δοῦλός σου Ἀρών* (certainly a funerary inscription). The *φύλαξον* — formula of Psalms 121, 7 (*Κύριος φυλάξει σε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ, φυλάξει τὴν ψυχήν σου*) usually serves for inscriptions on buildings and is applied to the living. As concerns the dead,

collections of Greek inscriptions from Syria, compiled by the American expeditions (by Prentice and by Littmann-Magie-Stuart). In Palestine proper, the expression *κύριε μνήσθηθι τὸν δοῦλόν σου Οὐαλεντῖνον* is found in the mosaic inscription of the church of Mukhmās.[9] This refers to the builder who might still be alive.[10] Neither our formula nor any one resembling it is mentioned in A. Alt, Die Inschriften der Palaestina III.[11] Either $\overline{\text{KE}}$ O $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ or $\overline{\text{IX}}$ $\overline{\text{XΣ}}$ can possibly be supplied before the imperative. Whether we have to separate *ἐ]λ[έησ*^{2}*|ον* or *ἐ]λ[έησο*^{2}*|ν* cannot be decided. — The remnants of the vertical hastae make the reading of THN certain. YX can be recognized clearly. We cannot say whether TS stood at the end of the line or whether we have to separate *το*^{3}*|ῦ* or *τ*^{3}*|οῦ*.

l. 3: A remnant of the right-hand corner of the Δ is preserved before the first O.

l. 4: It is hard to decide whether we are to assume that all the letters of the word [*σοῦ*] stood in line 3, or that the word was divided between lines 3 and 4, thus [*σο|ῦ*]. The second alternative seems to me more likely. The inscription from Mukhmās as well as the one cited in note 8 show that, in connection with *δοῦλος* the proper name need not have the definite article. — *Ὀσεδου*: The letters of the name are very widely spaced and can be read with certainty; it is attested three times in Syria, twice in the spelling used in our inscription (PAES no. 511, 515), and once spelled *Οσαιδος* (ibid., no. 519).[12] Arabic names occur frequently in the Christian Palaestina Tertia, in Syria, and in Egypt. — *ὅ*[*ς*^{5}| is more probable than *ὅ*^{5}|[*ς*. The rest of the O is very clear.

l. 5: *ἀν*[*ε*]*π*(*άη*): The A at the beginning of the line must have been very wide. The expression is attested more than thirty times in the inscriptions of the Palaestina Tertia by Alt. We have the choice between the spellings *ἀνεπάη* and *ἀνεπάε*; ibid., no. 19 from Bir-es-Seba' we find the inscription of a man from 'Aqabah (*Καίουμος Αἰλήσιος*), see there the formula *ἀνεπάε*. — The M has no abbreviation mark. — *Ἀ*[*ρ*]*τ*(*εμισίου*): The T is quite clear, the abbreviation mark although

cf. Kaufmann, Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik, p. 158 sq., on a chamber-tomb from Kertsch. *Φύλαξον τὴν δούλην σοῦ Σε(ο)υηρίναν* is found on an arm-band from Jerusalem, cf. Thomsen, Inschriften von Jerusalem, no. 207.

[9] QDAP I, pp. 103 sq.

[10] The fragment of an inscription from Khirbet 'Alya (?), or at any rate from the vicinity of Acco (Avi-Yonah QDAP III, p. 105), contains the formula *ἐλέησον κ(αὶ) ἀνά[παυσον τὸν δοῦλό]ν σου* which has been completed with a considerable degree of certainty.

[11] In Alt's collection only no. 149 from 'Abde has *ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ*.

[12] The root of the name is determined by Wuthnow, Semitische Menschennamen, p. 90, as being אשׁר —.

broken off in the middle is in its course exactly identical with the two other abbreviation marks of the line; we can, therefore, complete the word in no other way. This manner of giving the date, *ἐν μηνί* with the genitive of the name of the month, occurs very frequently in the Negeb.[13] The date is the 15th of May, 555.[14]

We are, therefore, dealing with the tombstone of a Christian of the middle of the sixth century, and can thus add one more testimony for the existence of Christianity in Aila to those mentioned above. The dead man was evidently no church or convent official, but presumably a lay-member of the Christian community of the place or its surroundings. The place was the center of a bishopric as early as 325 A.D. A bishop of Aila took part in the Council of Nicaea,[15] another one in the Council of Chalcedon in 451 A.D.,[16] and a bishop of Aila, by the name of Paulus, signed in his official capacity the minutes of the local council which had been convoked by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 536 A.D.[17]

Among the inscriptions of Palaestina Tertia two are found that stem from Christians in Aila: the first of these, of the 5th of June, 543 A.D., from Be'ersheb'a[18] runs: *ἐνθάδε κῖται ὁ μακάριος* Καίουμος Αἰλήσιος κτλ. This inhabitant of Aila, like our Osedos, bears an Arabic name. The

[13] Cf. Alt, Palaestina Tertia, nos. 16; 22; 23 (from Be'ersheb'a); 55; 56; 61 (from Chalasa); no. 142 (Sbêta). All these instances have the genitive form spelled out. Alt was right in filling the gaps and in abbreviating the names of the months, cf. e.g., ibid., nos. 134; 136; 138/9; however, such instances as *μη(νὶ) Δύστρῳ κέ* (no. 27) are also found. But the difference between the form of the genitive and that of the dative, which was dying out, is very small in these late times and is sometimes only a matter of orthography. In Christian inscriptions from Egypt we find simply the name of the month with a number side by side, with *μηνί* and the name of the month, also *ἐν μηνί* or *ἐπὶ μηνός* with the name of the month. The same usage occurs in Christian inscriptions from Nubia (cf. Lefèbvre passim).

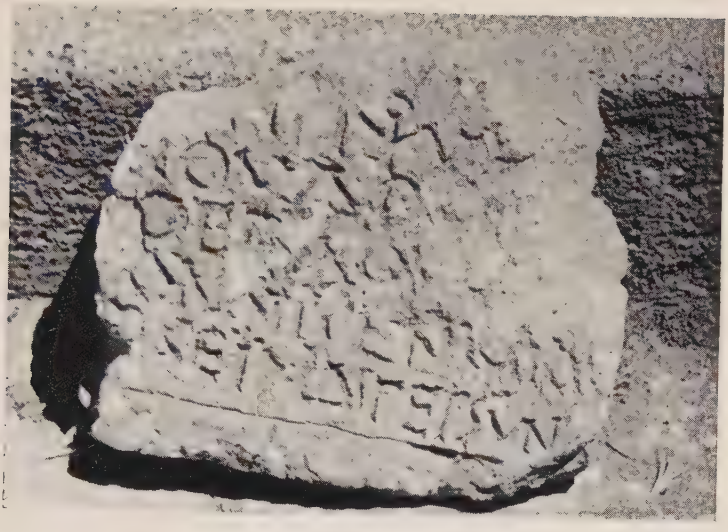
[14] The era is that of the province of Arabia (cf. Alt, Pal. III, pp. 47 sq.) which begins on the 22nd of March 106 A.D. 105 + 450 = 555. Indictio 3 begins on the 1st of September 554 (cf. Alt, ibid., no. 79) and lasts until the 31st of August 555 A.D. The first Artemisios of the indictio falls on the 21st of April 555 A.D. (cf. Alt, ibid., no. 22). Adding 25 days we get the 15th of May 555 A.D. as the date of the inscription.

[15] Cf. A. Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries (translated by J. Moffatt, New York, 1905), vol. II, p. 259.

[16] Cf. Mansi, VII, col. 32.

[17] Ibid., vol. VIII, col. 1175. For the material for the history of the Christian community of Aila, see Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques by Baudrillart-Vogt-Rouziès, vol. I (1912), p. 47/8, s.v. "Aela." Cf. et Albrecht Alt, Die Bistümer der alten Kirche Palästinas, Palästinajahrbuch 29 (1933), pp. 67 sqq., especially p. 78.

[18] A. Alt, Die Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia, no. 19.



other inscription from Be'ersheb'a [19] runs as follows: †ἐνθάδε κῖται ἡ μακαρία Νόννα Στεφάνου Αἰλησία· κατετήθη δὲ κτλ. It does not give the date of the year; the indictio given is not sufficient to determine the date. But, as already Alt remarks in his note to this inscription, Stephanus and Nonna of Aila are probably the same people who left a votive inscription in the Sinai monastery of St. Catharina which was built under Justinian.[20] H. Grégoire [21] has dealt with the inscription and seems to have established the correct reading. It runs: Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς ὁ ὀφθεὶς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ σῶσον καὶ ἐλέησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου Στέφανον Μαρτιρίου' οἰκ(οδόμον) καὶ τέκτονα 'Αϊλήσιον κ(αὶ) Νόννας (i.e. Νόνναν) καὶ ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ Γεωργίου καὶ Σεργίου καὶ Θεοδώρας. According to Grégoire,[22] it was set up between 548 and 562 A.D. Nonna is the wife of the builder of the Sinai monastery and died in Be'ersheb'a after her husband had completed the building. Both come from Aila, even though the ethnikon is only added to the name of the husband in the inscription. The couple had lost three children. The builder Stephanus seems to have survived his wife.

Whereas the two inscriptions of people from Aila in Be'ersheb'a have in their formulation nothing in common with our inscription, the similarity in formulation between the Sinai inscription and ours is striking. The couple from Aila may have formulated the inscription to correspond to the usage in their native place or to be a reminiscence of it; compare ἐλέησον-τὸν δοῦλόν σου — ἀνάπαυσον τὰς ψυχάς in the Sinai inscription with ἐλέησον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σοῦ — ἀνεπάη in ours. For another possibility which must be taken into consideration, see below. — Professor Glueck has published another inscription of Byzantine times which stems from the vicinity of Aila, from Khirbet-el-Khaldeh.[23]

A Christian community also existed on the island of Iotabe in the Red Sea, which, according to Procopius of Caesarea,[24] was 1,000 stadia distant from Aila. Choricius of Gaza, in his third oration which was delivered in 535/6 A.D., vouches for the existence of a church dedicated

[19] Ibid., no. 36.

[20] Cf. ibid., note 3 and the references to literature on this connection given there.

[21] Sur la date du Monastère du Sinaï in Bull. de Corresp. Hellénique XXXI (1907), pp. 327 sqq.

[22] Ibid., pp. 333–4.

[23] Cf. N. Glueck AASOR, vols. XVIII–XIX, p. 18. There a photograph of the inscription is given in fig. 10 and the attempt at a first reading by Iliffe. It was again discussed by J. O. Oliver in AJA, vol. 45 (1941), pp. 542–3. I here confine myself to point out this testimony for a Christian settlement in the vicinity of Aila. The place is situated about 25 km. to the north-east of Aila in Wadi-el-Yitm; cf. map 1c in Glueck, ibid. I shall return to this inscription at a later occasion.

[24] Cf. Bell. Pers. 1, 19, 3.

to the Virgin Mary on this same island.[25] The fact that a monastery of the people of Aila existed in the Sinaitic peninsula (λαύρα τῶν Αἰλιωτῶν), having been founded there in the sixth century,[26] may be a proof of the extent and intensity of Christian life in the city of Aila.[27] A detail which is, however, not relevant for the history of Christianity in Aila, is found in the Vita Sancti Hilarionis Eremitae of Hieronymus.[28] There we are told that Orion (or: Orionus) "vir primarius et ditissimus urbis Ailae, quae mari Rubro imminet" was liberated by Hilarion from demons that possessed him.[29] The hermit Hilarion lived not far from Gazaic Maiumas.[30] Hieronymus wrote his Vita approximately in 390 A.D.[31] Thus we only learn that a respected citizen of the city was taken to a Christian to be cured. That he was a Christian is not stated; he may but need not have been one. For indeed there was a bishop in Aila as early as 325 A.D. Apparently no Christian inscriptions of the fourth century have come down to us. The prime of Christianity in southern Palestine was the era of Justinian and the decades immediately following it, and the peak of the economic development must have been reached in the small and large settlements of this region about the same time.[32]

The formulation of our inscription shows certain similarities with the Christian inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia, some few with inscriptions from the Christian Negeb, and hardly any with those from Syria and Palestine. If the type of formula were an adequate criterion for drawing a conclusion, one might suspect that the Christian community of Aila was an offshoot of Egyptian Christianity. The road that led from Aila to the west was, according to the Tabula Peutingeriana, the road that led to Arsinoe through the desert and went from there into the

[25] Cf. Choricius Gazaeus, ed. by R. Foerster-E. Richtsteig (Teubner 1929), oratio III, 67 (p. 65, 21). Ibid., 68 (by mistake 67 in the text), p. 66, 2, we read: ἔστιν αὐτόθι νεὼς ἱδρυμένος, ἔνθα νομίζεται τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μητέρα τὴν παρθένον τιμᾶσθαι. — As to the question with which of the islands Iotabe is to be identified, cf. the article by Tkač in RE IX 2, p. 2000 s.v.

[26] Cf. Johannes Moschos (Pratum Spirituale, PG vol. 87), c. 62–66. 134. The founder of the monastery is ὁ ἀββᾶς Ἀντώνιος ὁ ἡγούμενος τῆς Λαύρας τῶν Αἰλιωτῶν (ibid., c. 66) and in c. 62 a ἀββᾶ Στεφάνου πρεσβυτέρου τῆς λαύρας τῶν Αἰλιωτῶν is mentioned.

[27] Procopius of Caesarea, loc. cit. (see n. 24), calls the place πόλις Αἰλάς or in the genitive Αἰλᾶ πόλεως.

[28] Migne, PL, vol. 23, c. 18, pp. 29 sqq.

[29] Already M. Avi-Yona in BJPES II, p. 7, pointed out this passage.

[30] Cf. ibid., Vita Hilarionis, c. 3, p. 31.

[31] Ibid., p. 29.

[32] Cf. Alt, Inschriften der Palaestina Tertia, p. 35; cf. et Alt, Palästinajahrbuch 29 (1933), p. 89.

interior of Egypt. This suggests that Christianity reached Aila travelling along the caravan-route through the desert or along the sea-route from Egypt, or that it was at least influenced from that direction. The connection with the monastery of St. Catharina on the Sinai peninsula not only does not contradict this, but may even be adduced in support of this fact.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

The author of *History of Unitarianism* is Earl Morse Wilbur, not Earl Wilbur Morse as stated in the October Number by error. The Editors regret the transposition.

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